

Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond

Edited by

Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling and Laura B. Mazow

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Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction: The Past and Present of Household Archaeology in Israel 1
Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling and Laura B. Mazow

Understanding Houses, Households, and the Levantine Archaeological Record 9
James W. Hardin

Household Archaeology in Israel: Looking into the Microscopic Record 27
Ruth Shahack-Gross

Applying On-Site Analysis of Faunal Assemblages from Domestic Contexts: A Case Study from the Lower City of Hazor 37
Nimrod Marom and Sharon Zuckerman

"The Kingdom Is His Brick Mould and the Dynasty Is His Wall": The Impact of Urbanization on Middle Bronze Age Households in the Southern Levant 55
Assaf Yasur-Landau

A Tale of Two Houses: The Role of Pottery in Reconstructing Household Wealth and Composition 85
Nava Panitz-Cohen

Differentiating between Public and Residential Buildings: A Case Study from Late Bronze Age II Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath 107
Itzhaq Shai, Aren M. Maeir, Yuval Gadot and Joe Uziel

Household Gleanings from Iron I Tel Dan 133
David Ilan

Houses and Households in Settlements along the Yarkon River, Israel, during the Iron Age I: Society, Economy, and Identity 155
Yuval Gadot

Early Iron Age Domestic Material Culture in Philistia and an Eastern Mediterranean *Koiné* 183
David Ben-Shlomo

Household Archaeology in LHIIIC Tiryns 207
Philipp Stockhammer

The Archaeology of the Extended Family: A Household Compound from Iron II Tell en-Naṣbeh 237
Aaron J. Brody

Household Economies in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah 255
Avraham Faust

Household Activities at Tel Beersheba 275
Lily Singer-Avitz

The Empire in the House, the House in the Empire: Toward a Household Archaeology Perspective on the Assyrian Empire in the Levant 303
Virginia Rimmer Herrmann

Cult Corners in the Aegean and the Levant 321
Louise A. Hitchcock

Varieties of Religious Expression in the Domestic Setting 347
Beth Alpert Nakhai

A Problem of Definition: "Cultic" and "Domestic" Contexts in Philistia 361
Michael D. Press

References 391

Index 447

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AY-L, JRE and LBM

INTRODUCTION: THE PAST AND PRESENT OF HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY IN ISRAEL

Assaf Yasur-Landau, Jennie R. Ebeling and Laura B. Mazow

Households are the "most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group" (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618). The household, along with its archaeological manifestation in domestic assemblages, merits research in its own right not only because it is the social group best represented in the archaeological record, but also because its practices within the domestic sphere directly relate to the economy, political organization, and social structure (Tringham 1991: 101). The domestic arena, inseparable from family and kinship, is where socialization starts. Here, by participating in behavioral patterns and observing the behavior of others, one acquires some of the most important elements of one's identity, among them kinship and language (Bourdieu 1990).

Despite the impressive number of well-excavated domestic contexts in Bronze and Iron Age levels at sites in Israel, studies relating to household behavioral patterns, kinship groups, and manifestations of status and gender within the house were uncommon in the archaeology of the 1980s and early 1990s (with the notable exceptions of Stager 1985a; Geva 1989; Daviau 1993; and Singer-Avitz 1996). Several articles that are mostly descriptive catalogues appeared during this time in edited volumes (e.g., Kempinski and Reich 1992). A significant departure from this is Holladay's entry "House, Israelite" in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, which used ethnoarchaeological data to investigate demographics, activity areas, and socioeconomic aspects of Iron II houses (1992). In the present volume, Hardin takes up the task of reviewing the history of household archaeology in the southern Levant in the 1980s and 1990s.

For the most part, the power of the text in "biblical archaeology" dictated an extremely narrow set of research questions. The study of household assemblages was one-dimensional and selective in scope, ignoring aspects of gender, household production, and status in the houses of the early Israelites and Philistines. Researchers instead asked "macro" questions relating to group identity and ethnicity

(Yasur-Landau 2010). The most notable cases are the numerous studies devoted to the so-called four-room house and its role as an ethnic marker of ancient Israelites (e.g., Shiloh 1970; Fritz 1977; Herzog 1984; see Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a for further references) and the debate over the interpretation of the absence of pig remains from Iron I Israelite settlements as an indicator of an early taboo against pork consumption (e.g., Dever 1995; Finkelstein 1996; Hesse and Wapnish 1997). Additionally, several studies published in the 1990s used material culture remains from domestic contexts to demonstrate distinct ethnic boundaries between Israelites and Philistines and between Canaanites and Philistines in the formative period of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 1996; Finkelstein 1996, 1997; Killebrew 1998).

From the mid 1990s to more recently, new areas have been investigated in the archaeology of the Philistines that have gone beyond a simple focus on ethnicity and into the realm of household archaeology; these include technological aspects of pottery production (e.g., Killebrew 1996, 1998; Ben-Shlomo 2006a), ancient foodways (e.g., Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008), and the study of aspects of gender in the Philistine migration (e.g., Yasur-Landau 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002). The meticulous recording system of finds at Tel Miqne-Ekron has enabled Mazow (2005) to conduct the first full quantitative spatial analysis of multiple household assemblages in Philistia. There is no doubt that the similarly detailed record of excavations at Ashkelon (Stager et al. 2008) will inspire similar studies. At the same time, however, study of the early Israelites through household remains continued to be characterized by a strong component of ethnic studies (Killebrew 2005; Faust 2006), while it also developed new approaches to the archaeology of the family, including ideological aspects of the four-room house (Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a), gender and household production (Meyers 2003a), household cult (Ackerman 2003), and even narrative reconstructions of life among the Iron I highland peasants (van der Toorn 2003; Ebeling 2010).

The renewed interest in household archaeology in recent years has yielded a growing corpus of articles dealing with a wide range of topics, from spatial analyses of activity areas to family structure and kinship ideology (e.g., Faust 1999a, 2001; Schloen 2001; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a; Ebeling and Rowan 2004; Hardin 2004; and Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006, to name a few). In addition, a volume of *Near Eastern Archaeology* (Herr 2003) was devoted to the theme "House

and Home in the Southern Levant," presenting five papers centering on houses from the Neolithic through the Byzantine period. One can note, however, the continued focus on the four-room house (see above) with two articles devoted to that subject (e.g., Faust and Bunimovitz 2003b; Clark 2003).

Despite the growing contributions to this developing field, however, recent general publications on the archaeology of the Levant (e.g., Richard 2003) have not included articles on houses or household archaeology, revealing the lack of integration of these topics into larger accessible treatments. To date, there has not been a single conference dedicated to household archaeology in Israel and not a single edited volume has appeared.

The present volume, which grew out of a successful round-table session on household archaeology in the Bronze and Iron Age Levant, held at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Boston, Massachusetts, is therefore the first volume to be published on household archaeology in this region. The majority of the seventeen papers included in this volume reflect innovative points of view on various aspects of theory and praxis of household archaeology during the Bronze and Iron Ages (ca. 3000–586 BCE) in the Levant and surrounding regions (Anatolia and the Aegean). Many of the papers show the great advantage of taking a holistic approach to the study of household assemblages. Combining the study of architecture with a spatial and functional analysis of artifacts and ecofacts often results in a more comprehensive reconstruction of the activities carried out in each domestic unit. At the same time, the studies included in this volume frequently employ explicit archaeological methodologies for the analysis of household remains that are inspired by theoretical advances in world archaeology. The next step in household archaeology research in Israel is presented here, with the use of tailor-made data collection strategies designed to answer questions posed by household archaeology.

Along with these innovations come challenges that are apparent in the papers in this volume. The complexity of site formation processes, for example, is not adequately addressed by some authors. In addition, some authors shy away from using ethnicity or do so rather simplistically. Sometimes the data themselves make analyses a challenge, as in cases where researchers have admirably attempted to reanalyze material excavated long ago. Challenges related to artifact collection and curation simply do not permit the types of statistical analyses that are possible using material from recent excavation projects.

The first section of this book includes three papers that use very different research methodologies. *Hardin*'s paper places the study of household archaeology in the Levant within the very rich theoretical background of household archaeology practiced in world archaeology. He reviews the development of household archaeology in the New World and in the Levant before turning to the archaeological and other evidence available in the southern Levant—including texts and ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and ethnoarchaeological data—to identify households and reconstruct past domestic behavior. Hardin examines the important contribution of Schloen (2001), which highlights the various data sources available for household research in the Levant, as a case study. He concludes his review on a positive note, suggesting that household archaeology is beginning to impact the archaeology of the Levant in much the same way that it impacted New World archaeology in recent decades.

While household archaeology studies can be conducted on any excavation data, an emerging trend in the archaeology of the Southern Levant is to excavate areas with specific questions in mind relating to household activities and using multidisciplinary approaches for data retrieval.

Marom and *Zuckerman*'s work at Tel Hazor is an example of such a project. In their paper, the authors describe the tailor-made recovery procedure for zooarchaeological remains created for the study of Area S, a domestic area within the lower city. In a climate of "biblical archaeology," in which archaeological theory, if used at all, was most often applied in hindsight, we cannot overestimate the importance of this effort to present an explicit methodological framework for the retrieval of data relevant to the study of Bronze Age households.

The advantages of multidisciplinary methodologies are clearly demonstrated in the paper by *Shahack-Gross*, who stresses the importance of geoarchaeological, and especially micromorphological, approaches to studying archaeological contexts. The case study of the Iron I monumental building from Tel Dor is an important cautionary tale, warning against an intuitive interpretation of archaeological deposits. Deposits first interpreted as floors were reanalyzed using micromorphological analyses and determined to be accumulations of dung on top of the actual floor. A second case study complements the work of Gadot and Yasur-Landau (2006) on the burned late Iron I house at Tel Megiddo, a complex excavated with the clear intention of reconstructing the

lives of household groups. Shahack-Gross's work also exposes intriguing details on trash disposal practices at the site that have added to the understanding of activities practiced outside the house itself.

The second section of the book includes case studies in household archaeology in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and in the Iron Age. Interest in Israelite and Philistine ethnicity, with its current focus on the study of Iron I domestic contexts, has left Canaanite households of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages largely ignored in recent research. Three articles in this volume demonstrate how little we know about the Canaanites and, at the same time, the great potential of household archaeology to address fundamental questions about Canaanite society, including status differentiation, gender relations, and intragroup tensions.

Yasur-Landau's work touches on the tense interactions between domestic groups and the emerging rulership at the dawn of urbanization in the MB I, and the conflicts that resulted when areas in which houses once stood were built over with fortification walls and palaces. At Tel Dan such conflicts may have led to political instability, while at Tel Megiddo household groups resisted the restrictions imposed by the construction of fortifications for generations. In the late MBI and early MBII, several mechanisms were implemented for minimizing conflicts; the most important among them was the massive enlargement of the areas of sites to allow natural growth of domestic areas as well as sufficient space for monumental structures.

Panitz-Cohen's paper clearly demonstrates the great value of well-excavated contexts for the reconstruction of past behavioral patterns. Her meticulous analysis of the pottery from two household assemblages at Tel Batash offers important insights on questions of household wealth, status, and composition during the era of Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty control over Canaan.

The contribution of *Shai, Maeir, Gadot*, and *Uziel* deals with the important theme of identifying the purpose of architectural units, and specifically differentiating between private and public architecture using a LBII structure from Tell es-Ṣafi/Gath as a case study. Such differentiation is more easily made in the case of either a humble domestic structure or a palatial building, but is harder in less easily defined cases, such as the "patrician houses" in Levantine archaeology. The presentation of a systematic, multivariable analysis of this structure and its contents provides a very useful tool for the study of such structures in the future.

The study of ancient Israelite and Philistine ethnicity, as noted above, has led to the investigation of questions of domestic behavioral patterns. Four papers in this volume show the further development of this trend, reflecting a focus on domestic activities not only as ethnic markers but as a means of understanding past societies. Thus, *Ilan*'s chapter goes beyond the popular interest in identifying archaeological evidence for the settlement of the tribe of Dan as described in Judges 18. Instead, Ilan carefully examines the architecture, tools, vessels, and zooarchaeological finds to reconstruct an intriguing process of transformation from corporate group village organization to a town fabric dominated by nuclear families.

The search for an explicit household methodology is evident also in *Gadot*'s work on Iron I houses along the Yarkon River in four different twelfth–eleventh century BCE communities: Aphek, ʿIzbet Ṣartah, Tell Qasile, and Tel Gerisa. His list of variables developed for comparing houses and their location within sites enables a richer understanding of settlement patterns in this region during the Iron I. The results go far beyond demarcating ethnicity and reveal a marked variability in rural settlement structures within the same small region in the form of a village, a compound community, a town community, and a farmstead.

While *koiné* is a term commonly associated with the spread of artistic styles and related elite behavioral patterns, *Ben-Shlomo*'s study argues for the existence of an eastern Mediterranean *koiné* of twelfth-century-BCE Aegean domestic behavioral patterns. He argues that similar behavioral patterns seen in domestic activities, such as cooking and serving food, and textile manufacture, and in cultic paraphernalia, reflect shared conceptions of house and household that were created through multilateral transmissions (both east and west) of peoples (immigrants) and ideas.

A complementary picture of Aegean households on the Greek mainland in the twelfth century is presented by *Stockhammer*, who explores the change in feasting activities between the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods in the town of Tiryns. The feast in the Post-Palatial period is characterized as an event in which the memory of the Palatial past is narrated and manipulated, and an ethos of international contacts with other parts of the Aegean is presented.

Four papers focus on Iron II houses in the Kingdoms of Judah, Israel, Samʾal, and Gath. However, in contrast to past tendencies in biblical archaeology, in these papers the house is presented as much

more than a mere locus in which ancient Israelite identity resided and the biblical habitus was created and maintained.

Faust presents a compelling case for patterns of household economy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the rural areas, extended families were the common economic unit, and the lineage economy mediated between the households and the royal economy. The situation in the towns was more complex: most families functioned as nuclear families, directly interacting with the royal economy, while the rich and upper classes were able to maintain their extended family networks.

The great value found in the reinterpretation of existing excavation data is shown in *Brody*'s meticulous spatial analysis of pottery and other finds from the Iron II houses at Tell en-Naṣbeh, biblical Mizpah. Brody's conclusion differs from Faust's by arguing for the important role of extended families and urban household compounds shared by several nuclear families in this Iron II city.

Singer-Avitz's article is the first English-language presentation of the author's important work at Beersheba, which was one of the first studies to implement a spatial analysis of an Iron II domestic context. In contrast to the situation of organic growth at Tell en-Naṣbeh, Beersheba was a planned site. The predominant architecture of three- and four-room houses, without compounds or clusters of buildings, suggests that most units on the site were occupied by nuclear families. However, two structures located by the city gate (Buildings 1228 and 1229), which did not contain ovens, grinding stones or loom weights, are interpreted as nondomestic units, perhaps guest houses or spaces for official use.

The later part of the Iron Age was an era in which political pressure, taxation, and conquest by the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires had a profound impact on all strata of society in the Levant. *Herrmann* puts forward an implicit methodological framework aimed at understanding the impact of empires on daily life through a study of continuity and change in the domestic economies and social organization of domestic structures in an Assyrian imperial province, using a case study of the Zincirli, ancient Samʾal, households.

The third part of this volume deals with the identification of household cult and its role as an important domestic activity. Israelite household cult is discussed by *Nakhai* in an article that exposes the important role of domestic cult practices in two separate realms. In the first, subsistence and the domestic economy were attended to at

the household shrine, which was located in the home of the familial elders within the multiroom residential compound. In the second, Nakhai discusses the importance of women's cult practices, which were primarily concerned with matters relating to reproduction. These rituals were conducted in almost every home using special religious ephemera, and not limited to the shrines.

The role of the cult within Philistine households is examined by *Press*, who puts forward various methodological difficulties in identifying household cults and differentiating between popular and official cultic practices. His two case studies—Tel Miqne-Ekron Room 16, which was interpreted by the excavators as a cultic room, and Ashdod Room 5032, which was interpreted as a domestic space even though it yielded a major cultic find (a complete "Ashdoda" figurine)—show the interconnectedness between the domestic and the cultic, the official and the private. The positivistic methodological approach presented in this paper is innovative not only in its refusal to offer a definite solution, but also in its articulation of the basic questions and definitions. It thus creates a solid foundation for future contextual study of figurines and other cultic objects in Philistia.

Hitchcock exposes lines of similarity and aspects of difference between household cultic practices in the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant in her study on the form and function of cult corners. According to the author, the use of the term "cult corners," which derives from the archaeology of the Levant, is also useful for the study of non-domestic cults in the Aegean and may facilitate further comparative studies of religious practices in the Aegean and the Levant.

We hope that the diverse collection of papers in this volume provides much food for thought and inspires archaeologists working in the southern Levant and beyond to develop research projects in the area of household archaeology.

UNDERSTANDING HOUSES, HOUSEHOLDS, AND THE LEVANTINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

James W. Hardin

Household archaeology, as a subfield of the larger field of archaeology, has been slow to influence the more mainstream archaeology of the Levant. Its impact, however, has increased recently in this area of the world. This paper will examine some methodological and theoretical developments within household archaeology generally. This examination includes the household's usefulness for understanding past societies; a brief history of household archaeology; approaches to understanding houses, households, and the archaeological record of the Levant; and how the Levantine archaeological record and extra-archaeological data sources make the Levant particularly well suited for household research.

Household Archaeology

The Levant is not the only part of the world where household archaeology has been slow to make an impact. For many years archaeologists working in most geographical areas overlooked the more ordinary and humble domestic structures of the majority of the population—the most common remains in nearly all archaeological sites. Archaeologists were drawn instead to remains left by political and religious authorities and elites, including monumental constructions such as palatial and storage complexes, cultic complexes, cemeteries, and fortification systems. However, archaeologists increasingly realized that to understand fully ancient settlements it was necessary to investigate the structures where the majority of the population lived. It was in the New World that household archaeology came into its own in the 1970s and 80s when it enjoyed an intense period of development of methodological and theoretical concepts, including the emergence of a number of working approaches.

New World archaeologists were among the first to realize that the household is the particular environment in which individuals are made

aware of their culture's rules. The household embodies and underlies the organization of a society at its most basic level (Wilk and Ashmore 1988: 1). It can be viewed as a culture in microcosm where few, if any, aspects of its activities, behavior, or thought are at odds with those of the greater society (Deetz 1982: 724). Households can serve as very sensitive indicators of many facets of social organization and can reflect social stratification and the material conditions of life for the majority of a population (Rathje and McGuire 1982: 707). When well understood, the household can be seen as a higher analytical unit used to reconstruct more complex societal organizations and identify behavioral processes of interest (Reid and Whittlesey 1982: 696). As noted by Deetz,

> It might simply be the case that the household, family, or any social unit of similar size is a suitable vehicle for the examination of the relations between physical and mental worlds, and since families and households are the commonest, they are potentially the most productive source. Their suitability is a function of their size, small enough in scale to permit efficient and dependable study, and of their universality and availability, which at least somewhat mitigates problems of sampling (1982: 719).

Household Archaeology in the New World

While household archaeology blossomed in the 1970s and 80s, its beginnings can be traced through activity-area research to cultural ecology via settlement archaeology, and perhaps a little more indirectly to Taylor's conjunctive approach to archaeology (Taylor 1948). In the Americas, cultural ecology played a primary role in the development of settlement archaeology as humans were seen to interact spatially, economically, and socially within the environmental matrix into which they adaptively networked (see, e.g., Butzer 1982: Chapters 1 and 12). However, the use of ecological adaptation as the sole determinant for human behavior (*à la* Steward 1937, 1953) was quickly jettisoned as more functional interpretations of prehistoric social organization appeared. These included, in addition to ecological determinants, the level of technology and various social and cultural institutions and factors (see, especially, Willey 1953: 1). To understand prehistoric social organization, settlement archaeology studied the distribution of traceable human activities across the landscape, viewing sites not in a

vacuum, but as single elements in a much larger functional network (e.g., Willey 1953, 1974; Chang 1963; Adams 1965, 1981; Longacre and Ayers 1968; Adams and Nissen 1972; Braidwood 1974). Individual sites were seen to play different and complementary roles in this network just as individual areas in sites were seen to play different and complementary roles within a site. As scholars began to excavate areas of sites where there was no monumental architecture, it quickly became apparent that studies of the areas where most of the population lived would be necessary, in addition to the studies of monumental remains, before the total community could be understood. Under general systems theory approaches, archaeologists became aware of the complex organization of individual sites and individual areas within sites. They began to speak of activity areas and how these articulated themselves into different-sized sites or areas serving different functions (Ashmore and Wilk 1988: 7; cf. Binford 1964; Streuver 1971; Clarke 1972, 1977; Rouse 1972; Whallon 1973). This is where Taylor's conjunctive approach had its greatest impact, as it called for more attention to context and affinities and ushered in greater concern for the discovery of artifact patterns related to functional factors (Taylor 1948). Increased attention to artifact distributions and functional qualities, in addition to traditional style studies, led to better understandings of the way space was used across areas as small as parts of rooms and courtyards and as large as settlements grouped across a geographical landscape.

The works cited in the paragraph above generally involve the identification of hierarchical sets of patterns in the archaeological record—either explicitly or implicitly—of sites at different scales. These scales were commonly composed of three tiers: single structures, site layouts, and intra-site distributions (Ashmore and Wilk 1988: 7; cf. Trigger 1967, 1968; Tringham 1972; Clarke 1977; Ashmore 1981). Beneath the first two tiers of hierarchical patterns, household archaeology began to emerge as analytic units were reexamined and concerted efforts were made to make such units more behaviorally meaningful (Ashmore and Wilk 1988: 7). To address behavioral and processual questions posed by a now more anthropologically oriented archaeology, spatially dispersed units such as households from a wide variety and number of geographical places and societies were compared. Social issues such as universals in household organization, population size and density, social complexity, and the processes that guided their change were sought (Adams 1966). Attributes studied had to be pertinent to the anthropological questions posed, and studies such as use-wear

traces, functionally related forms, and source studies began to appear alongside the more traditional style/typological studies (see Rathje and Schiffer 1982: Chapter 4). To answer these more anthropological questions, archaeologists turned to ethnoarchaeology, pioneering an approach seeking to identify formally and functionally definable types of households that served as building blocks of communities (Kramer 1979; Ashmore and Wilk 1988: 9). Houses and households, largely regarded as the most elementary building block of society, became the foci of these approaches.

Household Studies in the Levant

In the early–mid-1990s, when I began my doctoral research analyzing activity areas in domestic structures in an attempt to understand household organization in Iron II Judah, I could find very little research based on Levantine sites. At that time, the works described in the section above, regrettably, had only minimally impacted the archaeology of the southern Levant. While studies could be found that centered on domestic structures, their main foci had been demography (Shiloh 1980; Routledge 1996) and descriptions of domestic architectural features (Beebe 1968; Shiloh 1970, 1973, 1978; Braemer 1982; Wright 1985; Holladay 1992, 1997), with the most notable being the works of L. Stager (1985a) and P. M. M. Daviau (1990, 1993).

Stager's seminal investigation of the Iron I family, as reflected in the location and organization of domestic structures in Iron I settlements, took a multivariate approach to understanding the past. He employed archaeological, ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, biblical, and extra-biblical textual data to pose statements regarding the social organization of the Iron I inhabitants of the highlands of Palestine, particularly at the household/extended household level (Stager 1985a). Stager maintained that such a varied approach increased the strength of his inferences about household organization. Most archaeologists would still agree that this is the case.

Daviau took a more narrowly focused approach to understanding the household, by concentrating on the identification of activities taking place in domestic contexts from sites dating to the second millennium BCE (Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages) (Daviau 1990, 1993). She undertook a spatial analysis of hundreds of archaeological locus groups that she meticulously reconstructed from the publications of various

Levantine sites in an attempt to identify activity areas in domestic contexts. Loci were identified functionally by their associated "toolkits." She reconstructed these toolkits (called functional paradigms) using iconographic data from contemporary Egyptian tomb paintings and from ethnoarchaeological data recovered in western Iran.

While these two studies vary in the success with which they address their respective issues, they both focus research on a better understanding of domestic space—Daviau on its use and identification, Stager on how informative this space may be regarding societal organization at and above the domestic or household level.

Since Stager's and Daviau's early work, there has been an increasing emphasis placed on household archaeology for periods from the Natufian to the Hellenistic. This is true not only in the Levant, but throughout much of the Mediterranean eastern littoral as well. A whole bevy of new analytical technologies including, but not limited to, microdebris analyses (as well as sampling and computer-based methodologies for dealing with microartifacts), soil chemistry studies, and other micromorphological studies have added significantly to our abilities to understand ancient households—including the activities in which its members were involved, the organization of their activities, and variation within and between households. Additionally, the usefulness of these studies for addressing larger anthropological issues has also been demonstrated. The great quantity of Levantine archaeological data related to households from many different periods facilitates cross-temporal comparisons, thereby providing improved understandings of the processes of culture change and how certain household types may be very stable or fragile through time with changing social, economic, and/or political factors. Household archaeology in the Levant is moving in a direction similar to that followed in other areas of the world and there are a number of reasons why household archaeology in this area (as well as in the eastern Mediterranean) should perhaps even set the bar with regard to what can be learned from archaeology about ancient households. More will be said about this below.

Identifying Domestic Space: Houses and Households

Regardless of where one is doing household archaeology, one must deal with problems that arise when moving from the material record to the activities and the organization of the household—or from stuff

to people, the things they do, and their organization. The household is often defined in systemic terms as an intermediate level of articulation of processes between the individual and the community. These processes include social, material, and behavioral elements. I have found the following definition of "household" useful when attempting to identify its material correlates in the archaeological record: a culturally defined, task-oriented domestic unit (Carter and Merrill 1979) that is usually, but not always, coresident (Laslett 1972: 1; Horne 1982; Kramer 1982a: 673; Netting et al. 1984: xxvi–xxviii). It is composed of three elements: (1) the social, (2) the material, and (3) the behavioral. The social unit (1), or the demographic unit, identifies the number of members and the members' relationships (e.g., extended or nuclear) (Laslett 1972: 28–34; see also Hammel and Laslett 1974). This unit may include visitors, captives, servants, apprentices, laborers, lodgers, and boarders in addition to blood relatives and adopted members as occupants of its bounded residential space (Netting 1982: 642–643; Kramer 1982a: 666). The material unit (2) includes the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions. The behavioral unit (3) includes the activities in which the household engages (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618), including some combination of production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction/socialization (Wilk and Netting 1984: 5).

Archaeology cannot address equally well all three elements, because we do not directly excavate households. As culturally defined, task-oriented units, households are not directly observable in the archaeological record. Such intangibles as kinship and affinity (the social element) do not exist as entities to be exposed through excavation. For this reason, the basis for the archaeological understanding of the household is the identification of the tasks or activities it performed—i.e., what households did (so Wilk and Netting 1984: 2–6). All household activities fall into four categories: production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction/socialization. While activities (the behavioral element) are no more observable directly in the archaeological record than concepts such as kinship and affinity, residual remains produced in the execution of household activities (the material elements of the household) are preserved in the archaeological record as are other features necessary for their performance. Patterns discerned in these remains can be associated with specific activities and can therefore be used to infer which activities took place, where they occurred, and, possibly, who carried them out (behavioral and social elements of the household). It is more likely that patterned, repeated activities, as

opposed to single activities, leave residues in the archaeological record that can be associated with specific activities (Binford 1987; Rapoport 1990: 9).

Determining the form of domestic space—houses—in the archaeological record requires the identification of the material elements of domestic space and the discernment of where these elements occur in archaeological sites. The house is defined as a physical structure or area within which domestic activities take place. It is the physical setting of consumption, reproduction, and other activities that may be included in the domestic sphere (Ashmore and Wilk 1988: 6). The domestic space occupied by a household is often identified by the architectural unit that bounds, and to some degree determines the structure of, the space where domestic activities are regularly carried out by household members. This space is often termed the household's "built environment" and consists of the organized temporal relationships among architectural resources, spaces, features, artifacts, animals, and people (Clarke 1979: 460–464; Rapoport 1980: 291–296). It is the locus where many, but not all, household activities are regularly carried out. Also, it is the environment where the inhabitants' cultural choices are frequently expressed in material form, albeit often covertly (cf. Glassie 1975; Deetz 1982; Leone 1982; Rapoport 1990: 9–10). This built environment, as architecture, has bounded space (Kent 1990a: 3) and ultimately constitutes "a logical pattern of entities and relationships built around activities" (Martin 1971: 6). The organization and form of this bounded space is heavily influenced by human behavior, and, conversely, human behavior is influenced by the built environment (Altman 1975; Rapoport 1980; Sanders 1990).

In addition to human behaviors, a number of additional factors can influence the organization, form, and function of domestic space and its placement in the community. Based on the work of others, Sanders discerns seven factors influencing the form and function of the built environment: climate, topography, available materials, level of technology, available economic resources, function, and cultural conventions (Sanders 1990: 44; cf. Trigger 1968: 55–60; Altman and Chemers 1980: 156; Rapoport 1980; Netting 1982; McGuire and Schiffer 1983; Noble 1984: vol. 1; Oliver 1987: 9–11, 57–120). Sanders groups these factors into three categories: naturally fixed, culturally fixed, and flexible (1990: 44).

Archaeologists employ many methods to identify and isolate domestic space and the built environment in the archaeological record. Early

attempts included the application of the "principle of abundance," by which the architectural category with the majority of structures within a town or community was thought to represent domestic structures (e.g., Willey et al. 1965; Haviland 1966). This principle seems to hold true cross-culturally (Leventhal and Baxter 1988: 52). Other common methods incorporate the analysis of the architectural layout of buildings (Wauchope 1934, 1938; Smith 1962: 217–218). These include analyzing the quality of construction (A. M. Rosen 1986; Leventhal and Baxter 1988: 58–59); determining structure size (Leventhal and Baxter 1988: 59); associating the dwelling with a delineated cooking area within a complex of rooms (Gnivecki 1987: 186; cf. Kramer 1982a: 669–670); identifying a delineated living room (Horne 1982: 685; Kramer 1982a: 668; Reid and Whittlesey 1982: 69); isolating rooms oriented toward an enclosed or otherwise isolated courtyard, plaza, or outside space (Horne 1982: 678; Leventhal 1983); isolating bounded space by analysis of circulation patterns within and among buildings (Kramer 1982a: 671); and identifying structural and artifactual redundancies (Kramer 1982a: 673). Artifacts excavated from structures also have been used to identify dwellings (Daviau 1990). Statistical analyses (e.g., cluster, discriminate, or multivariate) have been applied to artifacts (and, more recently, microartifacts) discovered in structures and functionally correlated with activities taking place within domestic contexts (Haviland 1981; Kent 1984; Leventhal and Baxter 1988; Daviau 1990, 1993).

While all of these methods are useful for studying the domestic structure, these structures can still be elusive entities in the archaeological record. An understanding of the domestic structure can be complicated by the often makeshift and continually changing nature of houses, necessitated by the need to suit its residents, who also are in a constant state of flux (see Goody 1958). A great deal of variability in the spatial organization of patterns of circulation, artifacts, features, and activities within an architectural setting may be a further complication.

However, difficulties identifying domestic space generally are not true of the domestic structures of the Levant. While identifications of domestic space often are intuited, use of any of the methods above usually confirms the intuited identifications. Houses in some geographical and temporal areas of the Levant exhibit remarkable isomorphism while others vary significantly. However, the sheer volume of archaeological examples of domestic structures from the Levant greatly aids

the identification process as do the preservation and types of remains revealed in many excavations.

The Levantine Archaeological Record

The quantity of archaeological work undertaken in the Levant, particularly the southern Levant, is truly remarkable when compared with that in other areas of the world. Much of this has to do with the area's location along an important corridor connecting three continents, as well as its proximity to centers of early civilizations in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. It also has much to do with Western interest in the ancient biblical world. Regardless of the reasons, we have a great deal of archaeological data to draw upon for household study, from the times of the earliest sedentary-trending settlements to very recent towns and cities. Available for study are numerous partial houses, complete houses, entire domestic areas/quarters, and even virtually complete towns and city plans. The quality of these remains can also be impressive. The most frequently used building materials (especially mudbrick and stone) are quite stable in the archaeological record and structures are often preserved up to or above floor levels, especially in tell sites (see A. M. Rosen 1986). The excellent preservation of domestic structures is often due to the way they entered the archaeological record.

A common phenomenon quite unique to the eastern Mediterranean and specifically the Levant is the ubiquitous destruction stratum so prevalent in many types of sites but particularly tells. These strata are usually derived from remains left after military conflict, accidents, or natural disasters (especially seismic activity). They often consist of site-wide destructions where settlements are burned or otherwise destroyed and covered over rapidly before the site is reoccupied. The structures preserved among the destruction debris often contain largely intact systemic inventories of artifacts preserved in or near their use locations. When the locations of these assemblages of artifacts are carefully mapped within domestic contexts, and when patterns introduced by natural and cultural formation processes are accounted for, these assemblages become invaluable for understanding household activities. The retrieval of similar information from the floors of domestic structures that yielded few or no systemic artifacts has been accomplished by recent advancements in soil chemistry studies

and microdebris recovery techniques and analysis. Therefore, the Levantine archaeological data available for household investigations are rich in both quality and quantity.

Other Sources of Household Data

In addition to the rich archaeological record, we are fortunate to have other sources that are useful for addressing ancient households, particularly the textual/historical record and the ethnographic/ethnoarchaeological record. The complementary role these sources play with archaeology in reconstructing ancient households and their social structure was already realized by Stager (1985a) in his work on the Iron I household. A brief discussion of the usefulness of these data when analyzed together with archaeological data follows.

Textual Data

Using texts to understand ancient household organization has a long history in biblical studies (see, especially, Gottwald 1979; but also Porter 1967; Safrai 1976; Wright 1979, 1992; Meyers 1991; Perdue et al. 1997; Levine 2003) as well as in the broader Near East in general (Mendelsohn 1948), from Egypt to Syria-Palestine (Kempinski and Na'aman 1973; Schloen 2001; Levine 2003), Anatolia, and Mesopotamia (Larsen 1977; Roth 1987; Westbrook 1991; Dercksen 2004; Tricoli 2006). Texts useful for understanding households extend back more than four millennia in many of these areas and have been used to identify households and individual household members; reconstruct household organization; identify the activities in which households are involved; investigate the way household activities are organized; and understand a household's relationships with other social institutions and the economy.

Some texts used for reconstructing households date later than the events they describe (e.g., biblical texts, king lists, etc.). Others are found in archaeological contexts and are contemporary with, as well as geographically near to, the more mundane types of archaeological data used for reconstructing households. Both sources provide excellent comparative data for better understanding household organization. They can be especially useful for establishing links between material

culture, on the one hand, and behaviors, activity areas, and social structure, on the other. When archaeological and textual sources are used together, they can provide important support or correctives for one another (e.g., see Meskell 1992). Many scholars see the value of textual data for establishing correlations between material culture and the social organization of those who produced and/or used it. However, there is less agreement regarding the similar usefulness of ethnographic data.

Ethnographic, Ethnohistoric, and Ethnoarchaeological[1] *Data*

Other important sources of data used by archaeologists to establish links between material culture and behaviors, activity areas, and social structure include ethnography, ethnohistory, and ethnoarchaeology. The Middle East is rich with many examples of these types of studies. Archaeologists have long claimed that ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological resources provide rich data and cultural information with which to supplement the often insufficient information provided by textual evidence and archaeological excavations for reconstructing elements of past societies. The same spatial organization of activities observed in the ethnographic or "systemic" context may underlie the patterning of debris recovered from the archaeological record (Brooks and Yellen 1987: 63). Therefore, it was believed by many archaeologists that ethnography, ethnohistory, and ethnoarchaeology, at the very least, worked well as points of departure for testing identifications of cultural material and behavior by providing analogous materials that could be used in interpretations of archaeologically recovered material culture.[2] Direct ethnographic data collected from cultures spatially and/or temporally near the study group are seen as the most

[1] The term "ethnoarchaeology" is used here to describe ethnographic work that was undertaken to provide potentially useful data/materials to aid in the identification and interpretation of archaeological materials based on insights gained from the study of recent or contemporary observations (see, e.g., Ascher 1961, 1968; Kramer 1979, 1982a; Watson 1979; Hodder 1982; Gould and Watson 1982; Wilk 1983). Ethnoarchaeologies often are used in tandem with the more traditional ethnographies.

[2] London (2000: 3–4) cites examples of the types of issues addressed recently in the Middle East, including ceramic technology (Johnston 1974; Matson 1974; Rye 1981), bread and cooking oven technology (McQuitty 1984), architecture (Aurenche and Desfarges 1985; Khammash 1986; Layne 1986; Kamp 1993), agriculture (Fuller 1986; Palmer 1998), Bedouin camp sites (Lane 1986; Suleiman 1988; Simms 1988; Saidel

useful, but comparative materials taken from indirect or cross-cultural ethnographic data also are seen as useful. Cross-cultural comparisons have been used to demonstrate patterns intelligible across cultural lines, highlighting those things that one culture shares with others and thus providing plausible explanations of the observed similarities. On the other hand, such comparisons can also draw attention to aspects of culture that are particular to only one group, highlighting the need for explanations of the observed differences. However, direct ethnographic observations, or what are termed by some as relational analogies (Hodder 1982; Wylie 1985), are generally seen to be the most reliable and useful.

Direct ethnographic observations from contemporary settlements located in the same region as the archaeological settlement under investigation are seen as particularly useful for comparison with archaeological data (and biblical and other textual information). These make good comparisons because they operate under the same ecological constraints, are generally demographically similar, and have mostly the same resources available for exploitation as did the ancient inhabitants that preceded them. In fact, some scholars would limit the use of ethnographic analogy only when a demonstration of conservatism and continuity with the prehistoric society under study is strongly exhibited (Hill 1998: 109; see already Gould 1978a).

While few scholars would disagree that ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and ethnoarchaeological data are useful for understanding the more functional aspects of material culture in the past, there is less agreement with regard to their usefulness for understanding the organizational aspects of past societies—whether social, political, or economic. Some scholars have questioned the usefulness of comparative ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies on several bases. They fault those engaged in these studies for including erroneous emic views and interpretations about ethnographic and archaeological data, neglecting gender studies, viewing social organization as static and crystallized, and implicitly assuming similar, uniform social organization between ethnographic cultures and the ones being investigated archaeologically.[3]

2001), tent construction (Banning and Kohler-Rollefson 1986); and animal husbandry (Geraty and LaBianca 1985).

[3] This stems from functional and processual theoretical models of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, when much ethnographic fieldwork was undertaken and when culture was

With regard to gender studies in particular, issues neglected include studying gender as an organizing principle, ignoring or paying insufficient attention to studies of women's technologies and productive tasks, neglecting women's roles in influencing and changing social organization, assuming absolute divisions of labor between men and women, assuming gender divisions are based on an absolute division of labor, and viewing gender roles and activities as static and uniformitarian rather than dynamic and adapting (e.g., Blackwood 1984; Conkey and Spector 1984; Meyers 1988, 2002a, 2003a, 2003b; McGaw 1989, 1996; Meigs 1990; Conkey 1991, 1993; Conkey and Gero 1991; Gilchrest 1991; Hastorf 1991; Whelan 1991a, 1991b; Wylie 1991, 1992, 1993; Classen 1992; Fagan 1992; Moore 1993, 1994; Herdt 1994; Conkey and Tringham 1995; Stanton and Stewart 1995; Meskell 1996; Wright 1996; Friend 1997; Nelson 1997, 1993; Hill 1998).

All of these issues are valid and important, and must be kept in mind when using ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data to aid interpretation of archaeological remains. Numerous ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies have addressed problems inherent to analogical-based studies (e.g., Ascher 1961; Binford 1967; Dunnell 1978, 1992; Gould and Watson 1982; Salmon 1982; Wylie 1982, 1985). Others have gathered the kind of data necessary for assessing the usefulness of archaeological data in determining aspects of past societies (e.g., Ascher 1961; Roberts 1965; Oswalt 1967; Crystal 1974; Gould 1978a, 1978b; Matson 1974; D. E. Thompson 1974; Adams 1976; Stiles 1977; Yellen 1977a, 1977b; Binford 1978; Kramer 1979; Watson 1979; Downing et al. 1981; Kent 1984, 1987; Newell 1987). Others still have researched the location and use of activity areas to determine whether etic notions regarding the use of space are accurate or even useful when attempting to reconstruct past activities (e.g., Binford 1978a; Bonnichsen 1973; Kent 1984, 1987; Newell 1987; Portnoy 1981; Yellen 1977b). The archaeological literature on this subject also is abundant (e.g., Hammack 1969; Watson et al. 1971; Anderson 1974; Blake 1976; Schiffer 1976; Brugge 1980; Breternitz 1982; Kent 1984; Newell 1987). Related to these studies are ethnographic and archaeological research undertaken to study male/female use of space (e.g., Bourdieu 1973; Flannery and Winter 1976; Yellen 1977b; Agenbroad 1978, 1982; Kent

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viewed largely as a reaction to ecological constraints and the availability of land and labor resources, and seen as proceeding along unilinear evolutionary trajectories.

1984; Meyers 2002a, 2003b). Further contributions to the understanding of these same issues have been made by those engaged in feminist and other gender studies, many of which are cited above.

In spite of a number of cautionary tales provided by and from ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data concerning inferences made about the archaeological record (e.g., Cranstone 1971; David 1971; Bonnichsen 1973; Stanislawski 1973; Horne 1982; Kramer 1982a; Newell, 1987), I believe that there is ample evidence demonstrating their usefulness of these types of data and this evidence more than warrants their consideration for use in understanding ancient households. This is particularly true in the Levant, where the ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data most often cited derive from the same greater geographical regions as the archaeological remains being investigated. When approached cautiously, these data prove useful for understanding many aspects of archaeological materials, including the function of certain artifacts, the execution and organization of certain activities, and social organization at the household level. This is especially the case when ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological data accompany other sources of data such as historical texts. An example of the judicious use of textual information and ethnography, ethnohistory, and ethnoarchaeology is demonstrated in the work of D. Schloen (2001).

A Case Study

Schloen's ambitious work, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*, presents foremost an explanatory model for understanding ancient Near Eastern society holistically. In this work, he addresses the existence in the wider Middle East and eastern Mediterranean region of a strong, markedly persistent organization at the household level that included architectural compounds occupied by patrilineal, patrilocal, and extended family households. The theoretical/philosophical bases for his understanding of the extended family household are the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur and the patrimonialism and agency theories of Max Weber (2001: 7–9). The primary unit of examination for this model is the "house of the father."

The "house of the father" identifies a typically recurring and historically common patrilocal, extended "Mediterranean"-type household (what Schloen calls the "joint family"). Indeed, this household type was pervasive and appears in many different social and political

contexts and is manifested in various ways, even in the face of differing levels of political organization and control imposed from the outside. For Schloen, the household's "diverse manifestations were developments of a coherent pattern of meaningful social action that was universally understood and so endured for thousands of years in the ancient Levant and its environs" (2001: 1). He understands the household as a "demographic and economic fact" and a "powerful political and religious symbol." This understanding of the household as both fact and symbol allows Schloen to move beyond functional approaches that often overemphasize or exclusively emphasize material and ecological factors.[4]

The ancient evidence Schloen uses to apply and illustrate his model comes from Bronze Age Ugarit and from Israel in the subsequent Iron Age (the latter is to be addressed by him more thoroughly in a future second volume). He refers to the Iron Age as the "Axial Age"—an age of empires in the Near East—when he believes societies underwent fundamental and dramatic shifts in their social and economic organization (2001: 1–2). In spite of this fundamental change, he demonstrates through archaeological and textual evidence from both Ugaritic and Israelite societies that the joint-family Mediterranean-type patrilocal household was recognized as the cultural norm as "outer fact and inner symbol" (2001: 1).

Schloen further demonstrates the persistence and historical commonness of the patrilocal, extended Mediterranean household through a study of ethnographic data and historical records, and he documents this household type from a variety of periods and places along the Mediterranean littoral.[5] Some of his most convincing data are provided by

[4] Schloen is justifiably suspicious of functional approaches (e.g., Wilk and Rathje 1982) that implicate strong correlations between resource availability (land and labor) and ecology on the one hand with household structure and composition on the other (Schloen 2001: 117–119). Functionalist approaches often are particularly insensitive to human agency or culture-specific traditions that may supersede many other concerns (e.g., ecology, availability of resources, etc.). They also have been criticized for treating household and kinship structure and organization as static (Schloen 2001: 131–133 citing and addressing Rosenfeld 1972, 1983 and Eickelman 1989). In spite of Schloen's and others' caveats, much ethnographic data gathered and presented under functionalist, theoretical frameworks continues to be useful in a number of ways. In fact, Schloen himself uses such descriptive, functional works in his reconstructions of Near Eastern society, as described in the main text here (2001: 133).

[5] Laslett (1983) already noted the statistically preponderant existence of a typical patrilineal complex household in the Mediterranean region.

three spatially and temporally separate, and well-documented, preindustrial examples. These include Roman Egypt, Renaissance Tuscany, and Ottoman Syria (Schloen 2001: 127–133).[6] He includes additional historical data from feudal Europe (especially France and Italy), the *poleis* of classical Greece, cities of the Roman Empire, Islamic cities from Morocco to Syria dating up to the modern period, and information provided by Muslim village ethnographies and ethnoarchaeologies. In these examples, as well as in others, he sees a similar pattern unfolding of household organization, size, and composition.

This study by Schloen is quite comprehensive in its examination of social organization at the household level for ancient Ugarit and Israel. In addition to illuminating the organization and commonness of the "house of the father," Schloen's work demonstrates the usefulness not only of historical data, but also of ethnographic/ethnoarchaeological data to archaeological investigation and interpretation at the household level. It highlights the quantity and quality of the multivariate data available for household research in the Levant and the broader Mediterranean littoral.

Archaeological work like Schloen's, which focuses on a better understanding of household organization, is becoming more typical of research in the Levant. In addition, household archaeology is beginning to impact Levantine archaeology in many of the same ways that it has over the last three or four decades impacted archaeology in the New World. With regard to the rich and varied data available for household study, it is lamentable that those of us working in the Levant began to focus our archaeological strategies only during the last decade or so on better understandings of household organization and what this organization may mean for understanding past societies at many levels of organization. The advances in understanding already made in this rather brief period attests to the importance of household archaeology. Already we are beginning to better understand the physical context of households, the activities in which they are involved, the way these activities as well as the households are organized, and what

[6] For Roman Egypt, Schloen (2001) uses Bagnall's and Frier's (1994) analysis of data from a number of cities and towns, but especially written data from Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchos, and Panopolis. For Renaissance Tuscany, he cites the analysis of Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber (1985) that uses data from the Florentine Census of 1427 to address household composition. A number of sources for Ottoman Syria are cited, including Establet and Pascual (1994) and Marcus (1989) for Aleppo and Damascus.

this organization may inform regarding other aspects of past societies, like gender. The use of multivariate sources of data, which we are fortunate to possess, can only increase the strength of our inferential strategies as we approach a varied and rich archaeological record. The power of these inferences also increases with the adoption of new methodological strategies for the collection of archaeological materials from domestic contexts and from recent developments borrowed from the hard sciences. These developments make possible the better understanding of activity areas and domestic space and notably include studies of floors through the analysis of microdebris, phytoliths, and soil chemistry that now accompany the similar but more traditional studies of larger artifacts. Household archaeology in the Levant has much to offer—not only for better understanding households locally, but also for testing our archaeological inferences generally.

HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY IN ISRAEL: LOOKING INTO THE MICROSCOPIC RECORD[1]

Ruth Shahack-Gross

Introduction

Household archaeology is an area of research that is strongly influenced by anthropology, and it is quite well developed in North American scholarship, where it relies heavily on ethnographic analogies as a basis for archaeological interpretation. To date, archaeologists view households as systems of membership (Allison 1999a), thus the goals of household archaeology research as set forward by American anthropologists include the reconstruction of such things as architecture, activities, economy, human interrelationships, attitudes and traditions, household composition (e.g., number of occupants, ages, genders), status, changes in socioeconomic organization, relationship of the household to the environment (both ecological and social), production vs. consumption, and ritual/symbolism. Allison (1999a and references therein) demonstrates that, with the advent of ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, came the realization of the complexity of households and their identification. Thus, Allison (1999a) rightly suggested that two steps of analysis should be conducted:

1. Households should be identified based on architectural parameters and the activities within them identified using material culture remains and pictorial and textual data.
2. All other goals of research (i.e., socioeconomy, symbolism, organization, etc.) might be inferred from studies conducted in step 1.

[1] I thank the organizers of the household archaeology session for inviting me to participate in it. The case studies presented here are the result of teamwork between the Kimmel Center for Archaeological Science and the Tel Dor and Megiddo excavations. I am grateful to all team members.

Clearly, these two steps point to a gap in our ability to reliably and confidently reconstruct households in antiquity, with the results of step 1 being more reliable as they are based on actual finds, and the results of step 2 being less reliable because they include more assumptions. However, even step 1 involves a number of assumptions and some degree of uncertainty. These assumptions start in the field with the excavator's interpretation of features, their temporal associations, and the location of floors.

In order to study the material remains on a house floor, the floor itself first needs to be identified. In most Levantine sites, where building with mudbricks was common, floors are rarely paved or plastered, and unequivocal identification of dirt floors is an incredibly difficult task. Often only artifacts that are assumed to be associated with what is presumed to be a floor will be studied; this introduces one type of uncertainty into the process of stage 1 analysis. A second type of uncertainty introduced into the analysis is due to the fragmentary or selective nature of archaeological assemblages that is caused by natural differential preservation as well as by methods of excavation (e.g., hand-picked vs. sieved materials, pore size of sieves used in the field, and selection of indicative sherds over nonindicative ones). These two types of uncertainty, the identification of floors and the fragmentary/selective nature of assemblages, might therefore be regarded as leading to a cumulative analytical error.

As in every scientific method, analytical errors may be reduced through the use of new approaches. In order to help reduce them in household archaeology studies, the floors in the studied household must be identified unequivocally, and complete assemblages of artifacts and/or ecofacts should be studied. This can be carried out through the random and nonselective sampling of sediments and artifacts. Studying complete assemblages on the macroscopic and microscopic levels is not always practical due to the large numbers of finds from historic contexts. In this article I argue that the microscopic study of tell sediments helps to reduce the uncertainty of step 1 analysis in household archaeology research because whole sediment samples are studied without selection of materials based on size (i.e., no sieving) or shape (i.e., how indicative a material is). The sampling method is random, and bias is thus negligible. The number of samples should be relatively large with some overlap in sampling certain contexts, so the reproducibility of the method can be quantitatively evaluated. For example, Albert et al. (2008) conducted phytolith analyses at Tel Dor studying

several pairs of the same sediment, and they were able to determine the uncertainty inherent in their analysis, which was found to be in the order of only a few percentage points.

The identification of activity areas is one of the stated goals of household archaeology. In the Near East, spatial analyses have been conducted using macroscopic artifacts and installations (e.g., Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006), sieved microartifacts (e.g., Rosen 1989, 1993), micromorphology (Matthews et al. 1997; Matthews 2005), and phytolith analysis (Albert et al. 2008). Elemental analyses (e.g., phosphate analysis) are routinely carried out in Central America (Terry et al. 2004) and have recently been conducted in Israel at the Tell es-Ṣafi/Gath excavations. To my knowledge, at this point in time there has not been a study in the field of household archaeology in which all approaches—macroscopic, microscopic, paleobotanical, molecular and elemental—have been integrated in order to understand activity areas.

Many of the approaches mentioned above for the identification of activity areas are related to the subdiscipline known as "geoarchaeology," in which there is strong reliance on the microscopic record. Geoarchaeological methods, especially micromorphology, are well suited to identifying the exact location of floors, which is a necessary first step in locating activity areas. While lime-plastered floors might be identified with a relatively high degree of certainty (but, see below for an example of an erroneous identification), dirt floors, as mentioned above, are very difficult to identify. Often decisions about the location of a dirt floor are based on field observations of the relationship between surfaces and walls and the foundations of built installations such as basins and *tabuns* or large storage vessels. These identifications are, however, not straightforward, as certain installations may have been placed below or above the actual floor level. Because the weight load of people and/or animals on activity surfaces results in compaction and the development of characteristic elongated, subhorizontal, microscopic voids (Goldberg and Whitbread 1993; Gé et al. 1993; see also Shahack-Gross et al. 2003, for compaction under livestock enclosures), dirt floors are best identified using micromorphological methods.

Further complicating the identification of activity areas is, once floors are identified, the assumption that remains of activities on these floors represent the use-life of the household. However, ethnoarchaeological and experimental studies caution that artifacts representing primary activities on floors are rare. For example, Hayden and

Cannon (1983) showed that macroscopic artifacts on floors may represent curated items kept as provisional discard. Ziadeh-Seely (1999) showed that macroscopic artifacts in abandoned structures represent post-abandonment activities, mostly storage and livestock keeping. These studies were recently supported from the point of view of the microscopic record by Tsartsidou et al. (2008), who demonstrated that phytoliths from abandoned structures primarily represented post-abandonment storage and livestock keeping activities. Therefore, it is very important to be aware that most artifacts on floors, whether macroscopic or microscopic, probably derive from secondary post-abandonment activities unless other evidence is provided to show that the floor remains are the result of primary deposition.

In this paper, I present two examples of studies that demonstrate the usefulness of geoarchaeological studies for understanding archaeological households. The first, originally published by Shahack-Gross et al. in 2005, shows how micromorphology established the true location of floors in a monumental Iron Age building at Tel Dor. The second, originally published by Shahack-Gross et al. in 2009, shows how activity areas outside houses shed light on activities within houses.

Example 1: Identifying Floors: An Example from Iron Age Tel Dor

Field archaeologists identify floors by "feel"; that is to say, "floors" are often surfaces that peel off as they are excavated. Shahack-Gross et al. (2005), however, showed that, in certain cases, such surfaces may in fact be only the upper level of the residue of activity remains. Such was the case in a room excavated in the 1990s inside the so-called Monumental Building at Iron Age Tel Dor. In this building, white surfaces, which formed undulating layers between the room walls, were identified as plaster floors as they peeled off during excavation. The field archaeologists, however, were puzzled, as these "floors" were empty of finds and no *in situ* macroscopic pottery was discovered on these surfaces.

In the early 2000s, geoarchaeological research was conducted at Tel Dor by the Kimmel Center for Archaeological Science. During the course of this research, it became apparent that the white "plaster" surfaces in the Monumental Building were composed primarily of plant phytoliths (Shahack-Gross et al. 2005). These are microscopic bodies that form in plants while they are alive and remain as fossils

after the plant organic matter degrades. A detailed study of the white surfaces in the building revealed that they were composed of over 90% grass phytoliths. In addition to phytoliths, the white layers included other mineral remains, such as sea sand from the nearby Mediterranean beach, calcium-phosphate nodules that indicate an *in situ* decay of organic matter in antiquity, and calcitic dung spherulites, which are microscopic spheres that form in the guts of animals (mostly in ruminants) and are excreted with their dung. It was therefore concluded that the white layers are not lime plaster floors, but the remains of livestock dung (Shahack-Gross et al. 2005).

Two possible interpretations have been suggested to explain the presence of livestock dung in the building: the dung was used as flooring material (i.e., dung plaster) or the room was used as a livestock pen. The Tel Dor sediments included high quantities of sand that is not easily compacted under load, thus, typical elongated voids did not develop to their fullest and were difficult to identify. This initially suggested that the white material might be the remains of dung plaster that could have been used as a floor. To examine this possibility, dung plasters from two ethnographic contexts were examined micromorphologically (see data in Shahack-Gross et al. 2005) and it became apparent that such plasters are a mixture of soil and dung dominated by the soil fraction. This was not the case at Tel Dor, however, and the possibility that the white layers in the building represent a purposely built floor is highly unlikely. On the other hand, supporting evidence for the second possibility, that the white layers represent activity remains, was found in the form of compression elongated voids in the dung material. These, along with microlamination of the phytoliths throughout the layer, indicate that the dung accumulated slowly during activities (based on Shahack-Gross et al. 2003; Macphail et al. 2004). Thus, the inevitable conclusion was that livestock were housed in the room under investigation in the Iron Age Monumental Building at Tel Dor and that the white layers represent residues of activity. The possibility that the dung remains accumulated while the building was abandoned was rejected on the grounds of continuity in the ceramic assemblage associated with the floors and fills of the studied room, and on the repeated nature of the floor-fill sequences (see details in Shahack-Gross et al. 2005). The recognition that the white surfaces do not actually represent floors therefore implied that the true floor is the surface on which the livestock was kept, i.e., an earthen floor located *below* the white layer. The results of the study by

Shahack-Gross et al. (2005) impact archaeological reconstructions of activities that occurred on floors, as in this case the true floor could not have been identified based solely on compaction; what was initially identified through compaction as the floor was actually the accumulation of activity remains on the floor.

The example given above emphasizes that

1. floors must be identified unequivocally using microscopic techniques;
2. the artifacts used for activity area research must be correlated with the true floor surface.

Example 2: Household Activities Inferred from Midden Deposits at Iron Age Tel Megiddo

A further challenge in activity-area research at tell sites is to define activities that were contemporary both inside and outside the house. Even assuming that a true house floor has been identified, it is still not easy to determine the level exterior to the house to which this interior floor corresponds, i.e., to determine an isochrone across space. A common assumption is that the topographic level of the interior house floor is similar to the topographic level outside the house; thus, in such cases the isochrone would indicate that activities were conducted on a horizontal flat area. Of course, digging and piling activities are also considered.

Studies of activities inside and outside a courtyard house were recently carried out at Iron Age Megiddo (Area K, Level K-4; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006; Gadot et al. 2006; Gersht 2006). This house had been destroyed by fire, and the fact that whole vessels and human skeletons were found in association with a thick layer of charred material was used by the excavators to identify the location of the house floor. A detailed study of indicative sherds and other artifacts was conducted in the various rooms and courtyard of the house by Gadot and Yasur-Landau (2006) in which they identified areas where food preparation and consumption, storage, crafts, and ritual had been carried out, and from which they further inferred various social and cultural aspects. Assuming that outdoor activities were conducted on the same topographic level, Gersht (2006) identified a concentration of chipped stones and cores dominated by flint blades that he interpreted as an

area of flint-knapping activity, while Gadot et al. (2006) identified a feature characterized by a series of laminated white and black sediments that they interpreted as the remains of threshing floors. Overall, the reconstructed scenario that emerged from these analyses was that cooking, storage, crafts, and ritual were conducted inside the house while flint knapping and threshing were conducted outside the house. Recently, however, the suggestion of Gadot et al. (2006) regarding the threshing floor remains was tested using geoarchaeological methods (Shahack-Gross et al. 2009). The rationale for testing this suggestion stemmed from a survey of ethnographic literature on traditional Near Eastern threshing floors that suggested that threshing floors are usually kept clean at all stages of use, i.e., before, during, and after threshing (e.g., Hillman 1984; Whittaker 2000). Therefore, no remains should be expected to accumulate on threshing floors. Moreover, almost all traditional threshing floors are located outside settlements rather than within them (e.g., Avitsur 1985; Whittaker 2000).

The geoarchaeological analyses carried out by Shahack-Gross et al. (2009) showed that the layered archaeological feature identified by Gadot et al. (2006) as threshing floors was composed of both microscopic and macroscopic remains. The sediments making up this feature included large amounts of wood ash, phytoliths (mostly of wild grasses but also some domestic cereal phytoliths), dung spherulites, phosphate nodules, clay, and quartz. The macroscopic objects included ceramics, stones, bones, and charcoal. According to the ethnographic studies cited above, such material is unlikely to be found on a threshing floor. Clearly, then, the layered feature does not represent accumulated threshing floor remains.

Other hypotheses were tested using micromorphological methods. The possibility that the layered feature reflects livestock enclosure remains was rejected. Although livestock dung remains are present in the feature, the absence in these sediments of the typical microlaminated structure that develops in active enclosures suggests that this feature does not reflect an accumulation of livestock remains. It was therefore concluded that the laminated feature represents a trash heap. Supporting evidence for this conclusion comes from the feature's own stratigraphy: the lowest level of the heap is similar to that of the house floor, while the upper level is approximately 1 meter higher and covered by the collapse of the house's building material. The heap rests against the northern wall of the house and therefore implies that it is the trash accumulation from the house itself (i.e., a single-household

midden); the fact that it is finely laminated testifies to recurrent disposal activity during this household's lifecycle (Shahack-Gross et al. 2009).

The main contributions of the study by Shahack-Gross et al. (2009) are as follows:

1. Trash disposal in the study area was conducted on the single-household level.
2. Trash disposal in the study area took place next to the house.
3. Trash included all types of domestic debris: macroscopic sherds of vessels, building stones and mudbricks, bones from meals, and charcoal from fuel, as well as microscopic remains from wood used as fuel, dung used as fuel, and unburned dung.
4. New inferences on household activities in the study area can be drawn, including the types of fuels used for cooking/warmth (wood and dung), and the foddering habits of livestock (open grazing on wild grasses supplemented by agricultural by-products such as cereal straw).
5. The layered appearance of the sediments and their fine-grained ("dusty") nature probably testifies to routine sweeping of house floors.

Future researchers may find it important to conduct detailed excavation of household middens as by studying the ceramic, faunal, and botanical assemblages of single-household trash heaps, following the various sublayers, a temporal differentiation of socioeconomic activities may be inferred.

In addition to the above example, Shahack-Gross (in press) conducted another study of a layered sediment pile associated with a LB courtyard at the same excavation area at Tel Megiddo (Area K, Level K-8). This layered feature was also intimately associated with a courtyard house wall and probably reflects a single-household trash heap. However, in this case, no macroscopic remains were identified. The fine-grained sediments were dominated by wood ash, while no dung or its ash has been identified. Charred grass fibers were present, as well as lime plaster fragments. The contrast between the Iron Age and Bronze Age household activities, as reflected in their trash heaps in area K at Tel Megiddo, is clear and needs more detailed study. Apparently, the Bronze Age inhabitants at Megiddo did not use dung as

fuel, although some grass (straw?) was probably burnt. In addition, Bronze Age house sweepings included lime plaster, a material that is absent in Iron Age trash at the same study area. This might indicate either differences in the socioeconomic status of the Bronze and Iron Age households or a different ideology related to building materials. I tentatively suggest that Bronze Age inhabitants in Tel Megiddo handled their household trash differently than Iron Age inhabitants at the same locality, with the former taking care to separate ash from larger pieces of trash. Such a practice has been observed ethnographically and reflects storage of ash for field fertilizer (e.g., Watson 1979; Kamp 1991).

Conclusion

Identification of activities on archaeological floors is extremely difficult and more methodological research is needed. I suggest the following methodological considerations:

1. As a first step, identify activity areas in relatively simple case studies, i.e., single-component sites with no evidence for later post-abandonment activities.
2. Focus on studying contexts of clear catastrophic abandonment. However, keep in mind that some destroyed structures may have been abandoned prior to their destruction.
3. Use micromorphology to identify the exact location of dirt floors, remains of materials that were trampled into the floors, and remains that accumulated above the floors.
4. In cases where a destroyed house with remains on its floor have been identified associated with its midden, by comparing the assemblages from both contexts (floor vs. midden), information on the life in the house at the moment of destruction (from the remains on the floor), and information on the life in the house over the time of its existence (from the trash accumulated over time outside the house) can be gleaned.

APPLYING ON-SITE ANALYSIS OF FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGES FROM DOMESTIC CONTEXTS: A CASE STUDY FROM THE LOWER CITY OF HAZOR

Nimrod Marom and Sharon Zuckerman

> **House**, n. A hollow edifice erected for the habitation of man, rat, mouse, beetle, cockroach, fly, mosquito, flea, bacillus and microbe.
> Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary* (1996)

Introduction

The investigation of ancient households is a common archaeological theme in recent decades (e.g., Stevenson 1982; Wilk and Rathje 1982; Wilk 1983; Stager 1985a; Smith 1987; Blanton 1994; Coupland and Banning 1996; Allison 1999b). The various aspects of daily life are explored under the broad aegis of what is often dubbed "household archaeology" (Wilk and Rathje 1982), which includes the study of material assemblages from domestic contexts. Finds' composition, variability, and spatial patterning are seen as means to reconstruct household activities, and the socioeconomic and ethnic composition of the population that inhabited the house (for examples relevant to faunal remains, see Hesse and Wapnish 1985, 1997; Crabtree 1990; Finkelstein 1996; O'Day et al. 2004; Twiss 2006). The investigation of cultural formation processes (Schiffer 1976, 1987) can also yield relevant information on past human garbage management behavior and disposal practices (Meadow 1978; Hayden and Cannon 1983; Kroll and Price 1991; Falconer 1995; Martin and Russel 2000).

The study of faunal remains presents household archaeologists with an important toolkit. Animal bones, which are usually deposited as food refuse, are abundant in many ancient habitation sites and can be used to investigate society and economy—both of which manifest in foodways (Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Smith 1987; Ijzereef 1989; Zeder 1988, 1991; O'Connor 1989, 2003; Veen 2003; Rossel 2004; van Neer et al. 2004; Twiss 2006)—as well as to reconstruct the use of space (Schiffer 1987; Gregg et al. 1991; O'Connell et al. 1991; Horwitz et al. 2007).

The following paper presents the rationale and the procedures of a faunal analysis meant to explore the foodways practiced in domestic quarters in a complex stratigraphic setting, tuned to address questions of household archaeology—including diachronic and spatial socio-economic differences between domestic units and differential use of space. The contribution addresses a general audience of field archaeologists, and is meant to elucidate some of the considerations involved in the faunal investigation of complex domestic sites. Details of the field sampling procedures, and the assumptions and research questions at their root are explained here at the conceptual level, setting aside many technical details of the faunal analysis itself. The following sections present a bone recovery and analysis protocol and how it relates to various depositionary scenarios expected to have occurred at a complex site. The various questions pertaining to economy and taphonomy are presented in brief, along with the zooarchaeological means to approach them. The focus is on general research questions that touch the lives and livelihoods of household residents, and do not include methodology for analyzing deposits from special contexts (e.g., workshops, etc.). Description of the zooarchaeological field protocol applied at the Lower City of Hazor follows as a case study, and illustrates how samples relevant to detailed zooarchaeological work may be collected and analyzed in a cost-efficient way. This protocol was applied during the 2008 field season in the Lower City of Hazor, which was directed by S. Zuckerman, and resulted in the complete analysis of all the faunal remains recovered that season in the field, including the complete sampling and analysis of 1,000 liters of sediments from wet sieving, as well as numerous bones collected by the excavators. We hope that the application of a high-resolution faunal investigation protocol that is feasible within the given financial and time constraints imposed on archaeological projects may prove useful to other scholars interested in such analyses.

Site and Setting

Tell el-Waqas (Tell el-Qedah), the site of the ancient Canaanite and Israelite city of Hazor, is one of the largest and most intensively investigated tells in the southern Levant. Since its first identification in 1875 by Porter, the site was excavated by Garstang (1928), Yadin (1956–1960, 1968), and Ben-Tor (1990 to the present). Garstang and Yadin

explored both the upper tell and the Lower City, proving that both parts of the site were inhabited during the Middle and the Late Bronze Ages, thus making Hazor one of the largest sites in the southern Levant during the second millennium BCE. Yadin's team excavation in the Lower City uncovered the fortification system, temples and cultic precincts, and other public structures, but only small segments of domestic quarters and non-elite buildings. On the acropolis, Yadin's team exposed parts of monumental public structures, which served the Canaanite ruling elite (Yadin et al. 1958, 1960, 1961; Ben-Tor 1989; Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997). The results of Yadin's large-scale excavations have set the stage for the reconstruction of the history and internal development of the Bronze Age city, and his proposed stratigraphic sequence is still largely valid today (Yadin 1972). The renewed excavations at Hazor concentrated on the acropolis, and the vast exposure of architectural remains dating to the Late and (to a lesser degree) the Middle Bronze Ages enable a reconstruction of the rise, decline, and fall of the city (Ben-Tor 1998). The site of Hazor thus offers a rare opportunity to excavate different sections of a Bronze Age city, of both administrative and residential nature, that existed contemporaneously and developed in parallel trajectories. The results of the excavations in the Lower City and the upper tell will enable us to compare between the nature and pace of processes of growth and decline as they are reflected in the life of the urban commoners, on the one hand, and those of the ruling elites, on the other.

Hazor, founded as a metropolis in the Middle Bronze Age (Maier 2000; Ben-Tor 2005), went through several phases of wax and wane, until its violent destruction in the Late Bronze Age. These processes were already observed by Yadin (1972) and recently described and discussed by one of the present authors in relation to the temples and palatial buildings in the Lower City and on the acropolis (Zuckerman 2007a). The changing architectural features and related material assemblages of the Bronze Age monumental buildings, both on the acropolis and in the Lower City, form the basis for a renewed analysis of the internal development of the city through the Bronze Age (Ben-Tor 1998). However, their very nature as elite ceremonial, cultic, and royal edifices presents an inherent bias to this attempt of reconstructing the history of Canaanite Hazor.

In an attempt to amend this bias, a renewed excavation of a domestic quarter in the Lower City of Hazor was recently initiated (Zuckerman 2008). In 1957, during the third season of excavations directed by



Figure 1. Area S in the Lower City of Hazor (from the north).

Yigael Yadin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem at Hazor, a 5 m × 5 m square, termed 210–A1 of the Hazor grid, was opened in the center of the Lower City (Fig. 1). The goals of that excavation, directed by E. Stern, were to assess the existence of domestic structures throughout the area of the Lower City enclosure and to verify the stratigraphic and chronological sequence of Bronze Age strata identified in other excavation areas in the Lower City. The square presented a dense stratigraphy of all phases attested at the Lower City, from stratum 4 (MBII) until stratum 1A (LBII) (Yadin 1972: 47–50; Ben-Tor 1989).

In summer 2008, following a geophysical survey of the area, two squares were opened to the west of the square excavated by Yadin's expedition and a row of four additional squares was opened to its south and southwest (Fig. 2). By the end of the season the plan of the area (termed Area S) in its final phase was cleared. The western part of the area seems to have been a 2 m wide alley, separated from the rest of the area by a coarsely built wall. To its east, there were two structures,

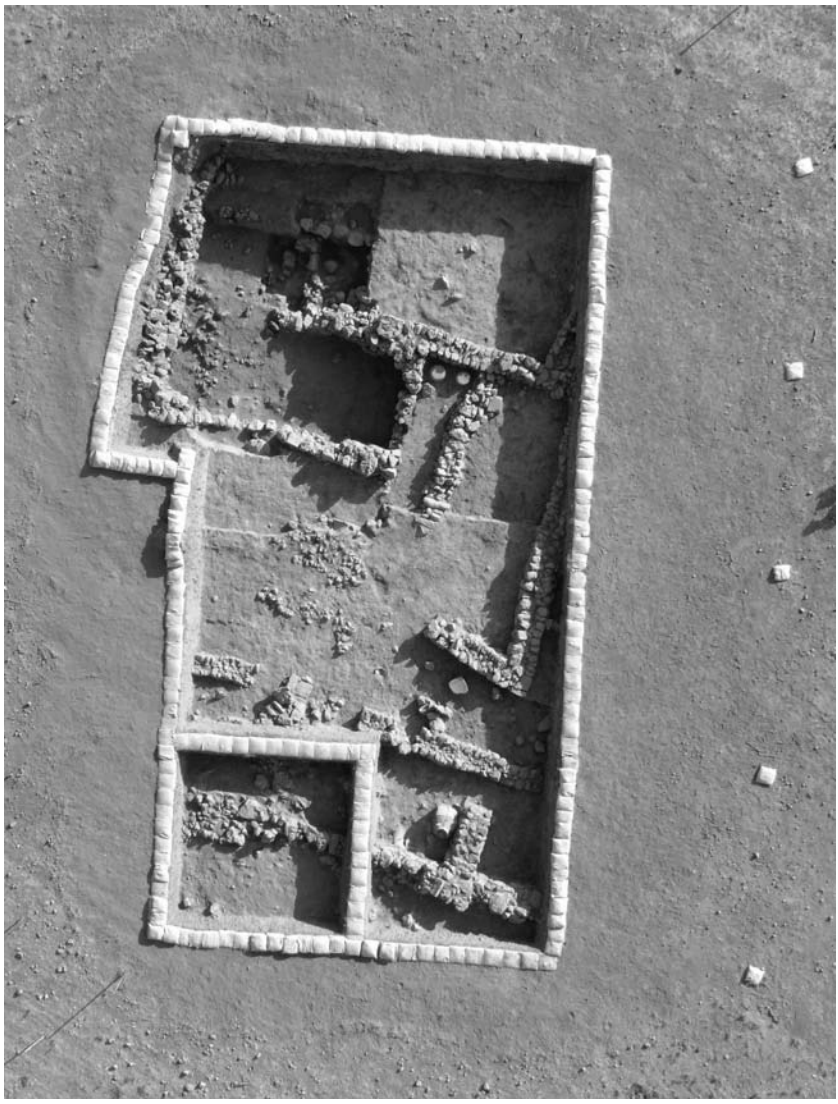


Figure 2. Area S in the end of 2008 season (north is on the left).

each consisting of several rooms or courtyards. A possible open area was discerned between these structures. The whole area was residential in nature. Characteristic of this phase are the sealed entryways and the blocked openings discerned in the walls. This phase is attributed, on the basis of its rich ceramic assemblage, to the last phase of the LBII city of Hazor (i.e., stratum 1A in the stratigraphic scheme of Yadin) (Zuckerman 2008).

Area S is thus an ideal candidate for the reconstruction of the development of a domestic quarter within the context of the Canaanite city. The project was designed as an interdisciplinary endeavor, aiming to extract as much data as possible from the excavated structures and associated open areas. During excavation, special emphasis was put on the maximum retrieval of archaeological material. Floor deposits were wet sieved using a flotation machine, while other less secure deposits were sampled by partial dry sieving. The preliminary goal of the excavation is the recovery of several categories of data that will be crucial for the achievement of the research objectives. These include larger samples of well-stratified artifacts, such as ceramics, lithics, animal bones, and plant remains, all of which are deemed necessary for determining the nature and scale of various daily activities, as well as assessing their spatial distribution and temporal development. The faunal assemblage is of prime importance in this context, and special emphasis was therefore placed on understanding its formation processes and taphonomic history.

Research Questions and Premises

Bone deposition can be divided into primary, secondary, and tertiary episodes (Schiffer 1972, 1976, 1983; Meadow 1978). Primary deposition of bone reflects refuse discarded at the place of animal processing and consumption, and thereby provides the highest resolution information on domestic activity areas. Animal bones in primary deposition are usually very small fragments, likely to have been trodden into earthen floors or otherwise to have escaped periodic cleaning (Fladmark 1982; Schiffer 1987; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999). This fraction of the bone assemblage cannot be recovered without high-resolution recovery methods, such as wet sieving (James 1997). The density of very small bone splinters and chips inside domestic spaces is expected to vary, as places in which cooking and other bone processing activities

took place should exhibit a higher density of such debitage (Hull 1987; Metcalfe and Heath 1990; Bartram et al. 1991). The number of burnt specimens can indicate the consumption of roasted vs. boiled flesh (Speth 2000), and the size and frequency of cancellous bone fragments may likewise indicate bone fats (grease) rendering in particular areas (Outram 2001).

However, since most identifiable bone fragments are large (epiphyses, teeth, large long-bone shaft fragments), and may prove a sanitary disturbance and a hindrance to movement inside domestic space, they cannot be assumed to be found in primary depositional contexts (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999). Ethnoarchaeological and archaeological studies conducted on refuse management show that larger bone fragments are routinely removed from household floors to either the area immediately adjacent to the house (the "toft") or to central dumps, which are usually located near the primary consumption area (e.g., Hayden and Cannon 1983; Bartram et al. 1991; Martin and Russel 2000). Animal bones in secondary deposition are probably the best target population to investigate domestic subsistence practices. Communal dumps and bones recovered from toft areas (alleys, accumulations between house walls) present time-averaged "samples" of the subsistence activities carried out in a domestic area, and are thus of prime importance to the derivation of species, skeleton element abundance, and demographic data. Being larger and less fragmented, bones in secondary deposition are generally the specimens that yield more zooarchaeological data (morphological, taxonomical, anatomical, and mensural), which can be brought to bear on questions regarding socioeconomic variability between occupation periods (Hesse 1986; Zeder 1988; Bar-Oz et al. 2007).

Bones in tertiary deposition are accumulations brought as construction material (mudbricks or fills) to their archaeological context, or otherwise removed from their original location. These bone remains are of little value to faunal analysis, as their original spatial and temporal provenance is not known.

Providing we accept the premise that houses were routinely cleaned when occupied, large bone fragments found above and on house floors may reflect primary discard from post-abandonment use of a building by human or animal visitors (squatters). Alternatively, house floor assemblages may reflect post-abandonment use of a house as a dump—in which case they are assumed to be constituted of secondary deposition from nearby houses (Cameron and Tomka 1993; LaMotta

and Schiffer 1999). A criterion for differentiating use of abandoned houses as a communal dump from a squatter community may be the comparison of the above-floor and floor deposits from a house to known dumps and middens in the vicinity, especially in terms of species and body-part diversity (i.e., the number of taxa represented in the assemblages). Deposition by squatters would probably show fewer (if any) specimens from exotic or imported taxa (e.g., Nilotic fish), and an overall lower diversity than a time-averaged accumulation of food refuse from part of a large urban center. Use of an abandoned house as a dump in an active urban area would show a pattern similar to nearby middens in terms of animal diversity and taphonomic signature. The microfaunal assemblage may also hint at which of the two options is likely to be true: many noncommensal microvertebrate remains may indicate deposition to have been the result of post-abandonment use of a house by squatters; presence of commensals (e.g., house mice, *Mus musculus domesticus*) may indicate continued human presence at the house's vicinity and thus the use of an empty house as a dump (see, also, Hesse 1978, 1979; Hesse and Wapnish 1985). Microfaunal remains can also yield important environmental information. Since these animals have limited ranges and specific habitat preferences, they are fine indicators of the immediate environment of the archaeological context in which they were found (e.g., Piper and O'Connor 2001; Weissbrod et al. 2005).

A primary research question is which taxa and of what age and sex groups were eaten by the residents of the domestic quarters; which body parts were consumed most often; and how these foodways varied spatially and diachronically. Demography and anatomical representation of the various livestock taxa are considered means to reconstructing ancient economy (Payne 1973; Redding 1981; Zeder and Hesse 2000; Vigne and Helmer 2007). Diachronic or spatial fluctuations in the frequencies of gourmet (i.e., meat-bearing) vs. non-meat-bearing portions of livestock taxa may indicate changes in affluence (Crabtree 1990; e.g., Schulz and Gust 1983; Jzereef 1988; Schmitt and Lupo 2008; Marom et al. in press). Demographic shifts from a young adult male dominated assemblage to one in which older animals and especially more females are represented may denote changes toward a less consumerist and more autarkic economy, indicating a regional socioeconomic shift toward lesser integration. An increase in the proportions of livestock animals over game and low variability in the demographic parameters of the population and skeleton element representation

indicate consumers in the distribution chain of animal products, and thus higher socioeconomic status (Zeder 1991). Trade relations can be partly reconstructed using the presence of nonlocal animals in the faunal assemblage (Van Neer and Ervynck 2004; van Neer et al. 2004; Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008). These imported animal commodities can also serve as a measure of wealth: imported goods are usually limited to the affluent (Ervynck et al. 2003; Veen 2003).

Another important research question is diachronic and spatial patterning in butchery practices of different taxa. Intensive butchery, which includes the utilization of bone marrow and even grease, indicates heightened efforts to utilize bone fats (Outram 2001). Utilization of a wider selection of skeleton elements, especially those poor in flesh (feet, heads), may indicate subsistence stress or low socioeconomic status (Schulz and Gust 1983; Izjereef 1989). Such information can be derived from bones in secondary deposition (for interstrata comparisons) and, to a lesser degree, from bones in primary deposition (for interhousehold comparisons; see below). Butchery patterns as evident by cut marks on bone surfaces can illuminate differential treatment of carcasses from different animals (Lyman 1994; Lyman 2005), as well as the intensity of consumption of various animal portions (Domínguez-Rodrigo 1999). Inter- and intrastrata changes in butchery intensity may be good indicators of affluence. As primary animal products (meat) become scarce, butchery would intensify to extract animal fat from bone marrow (Bar-Oz and Munro 2007) and even grease (Outram 2001, 2003)—practices which require some effort. Also, a greater diversity of animal portions from more locally available taxa, including wild game and fowl, would probably be present at the assemblage (Zeder 1988).

The sex and age distribution of the animals represented at the site can be used to test specific hypotheses (Marom and Bar-Oz 2009) regarding ancient herd management strategies. Such strategies include optimization of culling to increase work, calorific, or wool yields from domestic flocks providing animal products to the site (e.g., Payne 1973; Redding 1981).

The picture of past foodways gained by zooarchaeologists is greatly biased by deposition and post-depositional loss of information brought about by various taphonomic agents (Lyman 1994; Reitz and Wing 1999). These include, for example, the deleterious effects of bone fragmentation by humans (Brooks et al. 1977; Marshall and Pilgram 1991; Enloe 1993; Pickering and Egeland 2006; Bar-Oz and Munro

2007), carnivore gnawing (Binford 1981; Lyman 1994; Blumenchine et al. 1996), subaerial weathering (Behrensmeyer 1978), and trampling (Olsen and Shipman 1988). Another goal of faunal analysis is revealing to what degree various taphonomic actors affected the assemblage, and thus how reliable cultural inferences based on faunal data is (Bar-Oz and Munro 2004). Of equal importance is the determination of the bias caused by bone recovery and analysis procedures (James 1997; Marean et al. 2004). This problem is exacerbated in large-scale excavations, where the recovery of all faunal material is not practical.

On-Site Faunal Recovery Procedures: A Case Study from Hazor

The recovery of faunal remains from large urban sites is problematic, since practical limitations prohibit the complete recovery of all bone material. Therefore, at Hazor a two-tier recovery system is used to collect bone specimens. The first tier consists of recovery by hand by the excavators; and the second of wet sieving (Fig. 3).

Recovery of faunal remains by the excavators without sieving was shown to be a serious source of bias (Meadow 1980; Turner 1989; James 1997; Zohar and Belmaker 2005). To reduce this bias, the hand-picked sample is used to derive zooarchaeological information pertaining only to larger mammals: sheep, goats, pigs, cows, and larger game animals, the bones of which are more massive and likelier to be picked up by excavators.

Wet sieving was carried out using a 1 mm aperture mesh. The buckets for wet sieving contained sediments from which no bone material was extracted by the excavators. Following sieving and drying, the sieved fraction was sorted to isolate micromammal, fish, and mammal bones. The samples for wet sieving were taken daily, in vertical intervals of approximately 10 cm. When digging through extensive fills, mudbrick collapse, or topsoil, five buckets were sampled from each square. The horizontal pattern of sampling alternated daily between an X-shaped pattern, where one bucket is filled from each corner of the square and one from its center, and a cross-shaped pattern where four buckets were filled from the mid-side of the excavation square and an additional bucket was taken from its center. This superimposition of an X and a cross formed a "Union Jack" pattern of sampling in each square, thereby making an allowance for spatial variability in finds' density and composition, while keeping the

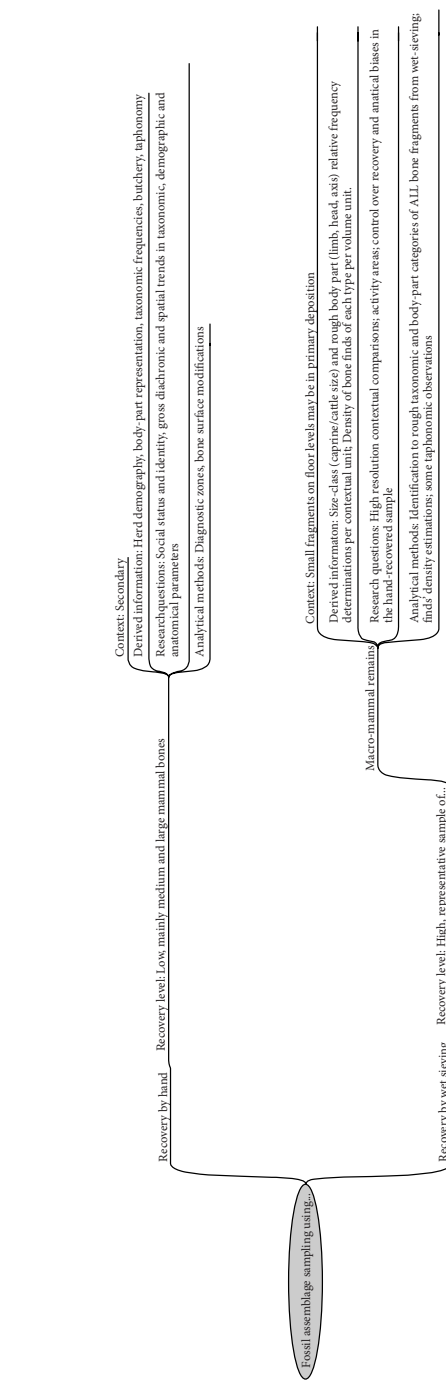

Fossil assemblage sampling using...
Recovery by hand
Recovery level: Low, mainly medium and large mammal bones
Context: Secondary
Derived information: Herd demography, body-part representation, taxonomic frequencies, butchery, taphonomy
Researchquestions: Social status and identity, gross diachronic and spatial trends in taxonomic, demographic and anatomical parameters
Analytical methods: Diagnostic zones, bone surface modifications
Recovery by wet sieving
Recovery level: High, representative sample of...
Macro-mammal remains
Context: Small fragments on floor levels may be in primary deposition
Derived information: Size-class (caprine/cattle size) and rough body part (limb, head, axis) relative frequency determinations per contextual unit; Density of bone finds of each type per volume unit.
Research questions: High resolution contextual comparisons; activity areas; control over recovery and anatical biases in the hand-recovered sample
Analytical methods: Identification to rough taxonomic and body-part categories of ALL bone fragments from wet-sieving; finds' density estimations; some taphonomic observations
Micro-vertebrate remains
Context: mainly primary deposition
Research question: Depositional context of the associated faunal assemblage, micro-environment
Bird remains
Context: Primary and secondary
Derived information: taxonomic frequencies, body-part representation, taphonomic observations
Research question: Fowling, dietary spectrum
Fish remains
Context: Primary and secondary
Research question: Trade and dietary spectrum

Figure 3. A flowchart presenting a scheme of the faunal analysis procedures employed at the Lower City of Tel Hazor. See text for explanations.

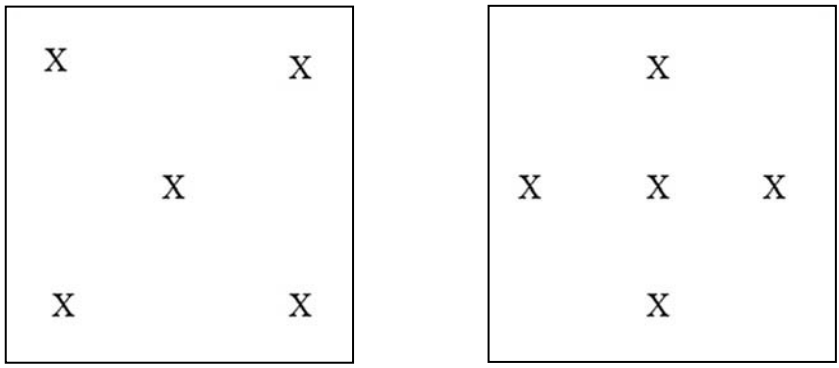


Figure 4. The sampling scheme for wet sieving above floor levels. X marks a bucketful of sediments from which bone material was not removed by the excavators in a 5 m × 5 m excavation square. The sampling scheme alternates between the St. Andrew's cross (left) and the St. George cross (right) in 10–15 cm vertical increments.

wet sieving and consequent sorting of the sieved material logistically manageable (Fig. 4). When the excavation reached above floor levels, the sampling method changed to include a varying number of buckets from each locus per 10 cm vertical increment. The samples were taken to provide a balanced horizontal representation of all parts of each of the sampled loci. Mean heights were taken for each sampling unit, and the volume of sediment (in liters, before sieving) was recorded.

Zooarchaeological Analytical Procedures

Processing the hand-picked sample includes the identification of certain skeleton elements, known as "diagnostic zones," following the protocol detailed by Davis (1992). These zones are easily ascribed to taxon and element, and provide the basic set of aging data through teeth eruption and wear (Grant 1982), and state of epiphyseal fusion (Silver 1969). Measurements of these elements are later used for determining the sex ratios in the archaeological sample (e.g., Wilson et al. 1982; Greenfield 2006). The cost-efficiency of using diagnostic zones is high, and it enables the derivation of maximal zooarchaeological information in a short time. Diagnostic zones are additive values that represent real counts, which makes them amenable to statistical

analyses of frequencies, and free from problems of aggregation (unlike minimum number of individuals/elements counts) (Grayson 1984; Lyman 2008). In addition, diagnostic zones are small and far apart on the skeleton, which allows the assumption of independence of counts, necessary to analyses of frequencies, slightly easier to make.

Although cost-efficient, the diagnostic zones methods have been criticized in the last decade for being liable to biases stemming from density-mediated attritional processes (Marean and Frey 1997; Pickering et al. 2003; Marean et al. 2004). However, empirical studies conducted in later prehistoric sites (Bar-Oz and Dayan 2002; Marom and Bar-Oz 2007) have shown the difference between the various analytical methods to be small. Recent studies at Tel Rehov (Marom et al. 2009) showed a high frequencies of high-value, low-density bones, in spite of the density-mediated attrition that was demonstrated to have taken place at the site. A similar study of skeleton element abundance at Tel Dor (Raban-Gerstel et al. 2008) showed similar underrepresentation of heads and feet, which is contrary to the prediction of the "shaft-critique" for a site where consistent recovery and analysis of long-bone shaft fragments did not take place.

Processing the wet-sieved sample units includes picking through the sieved sediments to isolate micromammal and fish bones, which are passed on to respective experts after their broad taxonomic designation was recorded. All larger mammal bones are separated and counted to calculate finds' density per sample. Mammal bones are then sorted into a "large mammal" (cow/horse-sized) and "medium mammal" (sheep/goat-sized) categories, and further into long bone, axial, and cranial fragments. The number of burnt bones is also recorded (Table 1).

The number of head, limb, and axis skeleton bones in the sieved sample can be contrasted with the skeleton element breakdown derived from the analysis of the identified remains per mammal size category (medium/large) to estimate the effects of analytical and recovery biases. The smaller osseous finds in the various sample units and their division to broad taxonomic and anatomic categories can be used to estimate what garbage had been disposed of in primary deposition in each domestic unit. The density of finds may show activity areas where carcass processing took place within structures, or, alternatively, which places escaped routine cleaning (corners, under or behind furniture, etc.).

All bones over 2 cm in length, recovered by hand or by wet sieving, were scanned under magnification (×3) using an oblique light source

Table 1. An example of the format used to describe the unidentified fraction of wet sieved and sorted samples

Sample #	Date	Area	Square	Locus	Basket	Height	Volume (litres)	Sample spots	Type
6	3/9/2008	S	T20	L08-2001	2000/09	225.9	24	diagonal, NE-SW	wet-sieving, 1 mm
7	5/9/2008	S	A20	L08-2008	2000/47	225.53	18	diagonal, NE-SW	wet-sieving, 1 mm
8	5/9/2008	S	S20	L08-2006	2000/50	226.03	22	diagonal, NW-SE	wet-sieving, 1 mm
9	5/9/2008	S	T1	L08-2000	2000/51	225.87	20	diagonal, NW-SE	wet-sieving, 1 mm
10	5/9/2008	S	U1	L08-2004	2000/52	225.64	7	diagonal, NW-SE	wet-sieving, 1 mm
11	5/9/2008	S	T20	L08-2010	2000/49	225.78	21	diagonal, NW-SE	wet-sieving, 1 mm
12	5/9/2008	S	U20	L08-2002	2000/48	225.69	23	diagonal, NW-SE	wet-sieving, 1 mm
13	8/9/2008	S	A20	L08-2008	2000/70	225.46	34	cross	wet-sieving, 1 mm
14	8/9/2008	S	U20	L08-2012	2000/71	225.61	32	cross	wet-sieving, 1 mm

to detect bone surface modifications (Blumenchine et al. 1996). These include carnivore gnawing, burning, weathering, percussion marks, cut marks, and root etching. Fracture morphology was recorded for diagnostic bones that retained diaphyseal fragments (Villa and Mahieu 1991), to provide evidence for fresh bone fracturing (presumably for marrow extraction) versus fracturing of dry bones due to post-depositional processes (trampling, sediment weight, weathering). Taphonomic information was listed in the database on a per-locus basis, enabling interlocus taphonomic comparisons in the frequency of various taphonomic indicators.

Data Processing

Comparison of skeleton elements and taxonomic abundances across strata and architectural units will be performed using standard multivariate statistical techniques: correspondence and cluster analyses. Age determination will rely on both epiphyseal fusion and tooth wear data; mixture analysis and morphological attributes of horn cores and pubis bones will be used to determine sex ratios (Greenfield 2006).

Discussion

The basic assumption underlying the excavation of Area S in the Lower City of Hazor is that cultural processes of rise and decline, centralization and decentralization, economic growth and impoverishment of a city and its inhabitants can all be detected through a careful and problem-oriented excavation of the households and domestic units. The

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Sediment	Context	NSP	Large mammal			Medium mammal			Bird	Fish	Rodent	Burnt
gray clay	under top soil	12	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	2
gray clay	fill	29	0	0	0	7	0	1	0	3	1	5
gray clay	fill	35	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	1	0	2
gray clay	fill	38	0	0	0	19	1	0	0	0	0	5
gray clay	fill	15	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	1	1	4
gray clay	fill	47	0	0	0	15	2	0	0	1	0	10
gray clay	fill	25	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	5
gray clay	fill	28	0	0	0	14	1	0	0	2	0	4
gray clay	fill	41	0	0	0	28	2	0	0	1	1	2

nature and scale of the activities performed by the household (food and craft production, distribution, consumption, social reproduction) are expected to change according to larger processes influencing its historical and social wider contexts (Wilk and Rathje 1982; Wattenmaker 1998; Robin 2003). A meticulous study of all aspects of material culture can illuminate issues of mundane life and daily activities of the urban commoners of Hazor. A better understanding of these facets of the city's life will enable us to tackle questions concerning the larger processes of development and decline affecting the site.

Here we would like to highlight one relevant example of such a process—the gradual economic decline, leading to a situation of political and social strife, witnessed in Canaan during the Late Bronze Age. This process is well attested both by written documents and in the archaeological record of the period (Liebowitz 1987; Bienkowski 1989; Knapp 1989; Bunimovitz 1995). Material indices of these trajectories might include architectural development and internal alterations in contemporary structures, changes in pottery vessel form and technology, variation and stability in the availability and consumption of different foodstuffs. All these aspects of the archaeological record are assumed to be sensitive to situations of economic and social stress. At Hazor, features of "crisis architecture," "termination rituals," and deterioration in other aspects of the LB assemblage were detected in the context of monumental temples and public structures and are interpreted as the archaeological correlates of this process (Zuckerman 2007a). According to this reconstruction, these internal conflicts and economic stresses led, eventually, to the conflagration of the monumental structures in the Lower City and on the acropolis, in a violent destruction campaign by the city's inhabitants aimed at the symbols of elite power.

If this reconstruction is correct, it should be testable against the results of the excavation of contemporary domestic non-elite structures. These were affected by the same processes of economic decline and social strife, but the responses to such stresses and their outcome are expected to have been different or even contradictory to those observed at the elite structures. The detailed analysis of private domestic households should thus complement the picture gained through the analysis of the monumental buildings on the tell and in the Lower City. Based on the excavation of Area S at the Lower City, the thorny questions of the processes leading to and the causes of the LB city's decline and final destruction can be tackled for the first time "from the bottom up."

The contribution of the faunal analysis of domestic contexts to this question is invaluable. The political situation in Canaan during the Late Bronze Age led to the gradual limitation of agricultural land resources, imposed by the growing demands of the Egyptian regime, by the competing Canaanite kingdoms, and by the activities of unruly elements within the system (Bunimovitz 1995). These trajectories were until now studied from the perspective of the ruling elites, who maintained a routine of conspicuous consumption in diacritical feasting as a vehicle for maintaining power relations within the fragile political system (Bunimovitz 1995: 326). Based on ethnographic and archaeological case studies it has been suggested that the ruling elites can and strive to maintain a certain level of meat consumption even, and sometimes despite, deteriorating economic situations (Palaima 1995; Kirsch 2001; Stocker and Davis 2004). Feasts such as those reflected in the last phase of the LB royal precinct of Hazor just prior to the abandonment and final destruction of the site (Lev-Tov and McGeough 2006; Zuckerman 2007b) might be interpreted also as "calamity feasts," or large-scale communal meals initiated by rulers in situations of environmental or social crisis and impending catastrophe. According to Hayden, in times of emergency people are willing to surrender surpluses and labor for the promise of relief and the compensation of infuriated deities through their mortal agents (Hayden 2001: 37). In the case of Hazor, these events might reflect elite weakness in the face of an unstable political situation and culminating social conflicts within the Canaanite city-state system. Large-scale feasts can be interpreted as a measure taken by the endangered Canaanite elites in the face of the impending political, social, and economic crises that, eventually,

brought an end to the whole palatial system of the LB Mediterranean (Bunimovitz 1995; Herzog 1997: 272–275).

The common people will be directly affected by these stresses, but their responses will necessarily be different from those of the ruling elites. The analysis of domestic households should illuminate the contrasting perspective: that of the commoners trying to survive and adapt to an impoverished and economically unstable environment. Possible indicators of such stresses in the faunal assemblage are intensifying butchery reflecting heightened efforts to utilize bone fats and marrow, and the consumption of a wider selection of less favorable skeleton elements. A breakdown of redistributive chains may also be evident, along with attempts to supplement an increasingly scant meat supply with wild game resources and a decline in the availability of imported animal goods. As shown in other cases, social processes of growing economic and political inequality, erosion of land ownership and accessibility, and the separation of farmers from the products of their labor are in the heart of decline of polities and civilizations (for the Maya, see Robin 2003). The faunal assemblages of the humblest Canaanites, alongside other material assemblages from the same contexts, are our only way to expose the "hidden transcripts" of the commoners. This was undoubtedly omitted from the "dominant transcript" of the elites and dominant groups, reflected in written documents, art, monumental architecture, and, in our case, diacritical feasts.

Conclusion

Investigation of domestic households at the Lower City of Hazor is expected to highlight the cultural sequence of one of the most important periods of Canaanite history, the second millennium BCE. The uniqueness of Hazor on the one hand, and its active participation in the bustling city-state system on the other, will contribute to the understanding of the wider picture of Canaan and the eastern Mediterranean during this period. This understanding will stem from the point of view of the humblest Canaanites, the "common people" who "enabled and shaped the existence of complex societies simply by being there" (Matthewes 2003: 156). The record of the urban commoners at Hazor is mute and veiled, and the scant information on their lives should be teased out using meticulous interdisciplinary analyses. We

hope to have shown that one necessary, practicable, and informative means to the partial accomplishment of this endeavor may be a zooarchaeological analysis.

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"THE KINGDOM IS HIS BRICK MOULD AND THE DYNASTY IS HIS WALL": THE IMPACT OF URBANIZATION ON MIDDLE BRONZE AGE HOUSEHOLDS IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

Assaf Yasur-Landau

Introduction

The close interrelationship between second-millennium-BCE kingship, lineage, and monumental construction is beautifully manifested in a prophetic dream seen by the seer Addu-duri and conveyed to King Zimrilim: "The kingdom is his (Zimrilim's) brick mould and the dynasty is his wall! Why does he incessantly climb the watchtower? Let him protect himself" (Nissinen 2003: 69).

Building inscriptions in the ancient Near East tell the story of monumental construction from a specific point of view—that of the ruler. For example, Hammurabi of Babylon used his army to raise the wall of Sippar: "…(until it was) like a great mountain. I built that high wall that which from the past no king among the kings had built, for my god Shamash, my lord, I grandly built" (Frayne 2000a: 256).

Similar motifs of piety are mentioned by Ur-Nammu for his extensive building program in Ur: "For the god Nanna, his lord, Ur-Nammu, king of Ur, built his temple (and) built the wall of Ur" (Frayne 2000b: 387).

The populace of Ur is an invisible participant in the creation of such monuments, and appears only as the victim in the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, a canonical composition describing the outcome of a violent destruction of Ur by a joint Elamite and Amorite attack. This lamentation depicts the end of urban life, of dancing and celebrating in the streets, and of walls and grand monuments:

> …in its wall breaches were made—the people groan!
> In the high gates where they want to promenade, corpses were piled,
> In the places where the country's dances took place, people were stacked in *heaps*…(Klein 1997: 535)

The voice of the people who had actually built these monuments is, of course, absent, as well as their opinions on the impact of such

monumental construction on their lives. The walls clearly defined the boundaries of a community and played a role in the political game of inclusion and exclusion. The imposing rampart settlement in the middle of a flat plain acted as a symbolic deterrent and a manifestation of strength, as well as a constant looming reminder to the inhabitants of the power of the ruler. Warad-Sîn, building the wall of Ur, says just that "I made its height suppressing, had it release its terrifying aura" (E4.2.13.21 lines 80–95; Frayne 1990: 243). Smith (2003: 216) described how, during the late third and early second millennium, the tall tell of Ur (currently 20 meters higher than its surroundings) would have thrown a long shadow over the plain during sunset.

Gates were not merely an element in the fortification system; they were used by the rulership to regulate entry and exit to the city and, in fact, controlled access to the people's homes in the city and to the people's fields outside it (Stone 1995: 240; Smith 2003: 216).

Finally, the enlargement of palaces and temples, acts demonstrating the power and piety of the ruler, could have had negative effects on nearby domestic structures if their area was to be included in the new building plan.

The literature discussing the social role of MB fortifications, and especially the ramparts, has mostly taken the point of view of the rulers who initiated their construction. Thus, for example, Yadin (1955) concentrated on the defensive value of ramparts and their relationship to new fighting techniques introduced during the Middle Bronze Age. Both Bunimovitz (1992) and Finkelstein (1992) have stressed the use of ramparts for royal propaganda, manifesting the power of the ruler to recruit a large workforce and to construct massive monuments. In addition, Burke (2008: 141–158) dedicated an entire chapter to the socioeconomic impact of fortification construction in the Middle Bronze Age, including organization of labor, construction rates and labor consumption, and construction of fortifications as manifestations of social complexity. However, in all these studies, little attention is paid to the impact of the building of these massive fortifications on the lives of the people who lived in these settlements, apart from their role as either workforce or admirers of the finished product and the power of the ruler.

Landscapes of rulership in the Levant were based on ideals of what a palace, fortification, or temple should look like (see more below). In

a similar manner, personal landscapes were variations on notions of an ideal domestic structure. Thus, for example, the "four-room house" was the ideal for late Iron I and Iron II Judea (Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a, 2003b) and numerous variants existed. Similarly, the ideal house in LB Ugarit was a courtyard building containing a well and a tomb (Schloen 2001: 329).

Alongside these monumental landscapes of power created by the ruling elites, studies in household archaeology suggest that household units created their own personal landscapes through the differentiated use of spaces within the domestic compound (Battle 2004). Such personal landscapes conformed to the social order within a community with regard to social class, gender, ownership, and property, yet, at the same time, left a place for personal expression (Stewart-Abernathy 2004).

The impact of the state on private households was heavily felt in different forms of taxation. Formation and maintenance of political power was often forged by "tribute feasts" (Hayden 2001: 58) for which huge amounts of food were gathered and consumed. Such is the case for Inca state feasts, where laborers were fed by paid tribute of maize and other products, while *chicha* was made by women as part of their labor tribute (Cook and Glowacki 2003: 182). The most basic household activities, such as cooking and weaving, were utilized for the benefit of the state: thus, for example, household production of *chicha* had an important role in the Tiwanaku state formation and expansion (Goldstein 2003: 165–166). Tax in the form of textiles reflects another type of burden put on private households; two examples for this are in the Aztec Empire (Brumfiel 1996) and in villages in Mycenaean Greece (Nosch and Perna 2001), where they were to be used for donations to the gods and to clothe cult officials.

The aim of this article is to examine cases for other, lesser-known impacts of the emerging and early polities on household units, including the competition for land that occurred during the process of urbanization and the transformation of a site into a city. An examination of the archaeological evidence from below the ramparts and next to the fortification walls of the MB towns exposes an intriguing picture of coercion and resistance; the rulers' wishes to implement their ideas of order on the sites they dominated by creating a landscape of rulership, consisting of fortifications, palaces, and monumental temples, brought them into a collision course with the household units,

particularly those whose homes had been destroyed or severely affected by these massive building plans.

It will be shown here that the process of urbanization had a profound impact on the domestic sphere, as it required a renegotiation of the concepts of private ownership of land and houses inside a site on the one hand, and the power of rulership on the other. For household units, it necessitated the creation of new mechanisms for legitimacy that could resist the rulers' appetite for real estate within the city. For the MB rulership, it required the introduction of innovative ideas of town planning that would minimize the friction between their own needs and those of their subjects.

Imagined Order and the Rise of Levantine Middle Bronze Age Rulership

The Middle Kingdom passion for an organized, planned, and controlled landscape is beautifully reflected in the *Teaching for King Merikare*, a Middle Kingdom narrative set in the Second Intermediate Period. The father of King Merikare is urging him to create order in his domain and shows him a model community (Parkinson 1997: 224: 36). This is a landscape where the power of the ruler is seen by humans and gods alike and demonstrated by the royal monuments. The borders are fixed and protected by fortresses. The population is large, the area is peaceful, and production is maximized through extensive irrigation and effective taxation.

This aspiration for order was by no means an empty statement, as indicated by the large-scale attempts to remodel communities, with preplanning on a settlement scale, using grid plans and templates for houses of commoners and elite alike (Kemp 2006: 221). The most well-known example of this planning is the town of Kahun, attached to the pyramid of Senusret II (Fig. 1). Ten elite mansions were located on both sides of the east–west main road and a possible temple stood on the acropolis in the eastern part of the site. Insulae of smaller houses were located to the south of the mansions. The western section, separated by a wall from the rest of the town, consisted of long blocks of humble four- and five-room houses separated by east–west streets (Petrie 1891: 5–6, Pl. XIV; Kemp 2006: 211–213). These may well have been the houses of the workmen and their families, as suggested by Petrie.



Figure 1. The town of Kahum (after Smith 1981: Fig. 161).

The town of Kahun and other examples of Middle Kingdom planning, reflecting a peak in Egyptian social engineering, brought into use existing knowledge about planning that dated back centuries; this is seen in the pyramid towns of the Old Kingdom, such as the town built to support the cult of the Fourth Dynasty Queen Khentkawes in Giza. The northern wing of the town, closest to the tomb of the queen, contained eleven separate buildings, most built on a similar plan (Kemp 2006: 201–209).

A literate administration, using prewritten measurements and plans, had been an essential part of building both Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom planned settlements (ibid.: 195). A limestone tablet from Kahun reads: *A four house block—30 × 20 cubits*. This very likely marked the place for building four humble houses in a total area of 15 m × 10 m. The commoners of Kahun lived in houses whose area, plan, and location had been determined by theare bureaucrats, expressing in their uniform plans the will of the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty

to create model communities. Like the peaceful, tame population in the *Teaching for King Merikare*, they were expected to fill their allotted place in the new, meticulously organized universe.

The same instructions are less than optimistic about the possibility of creating such organized communities in the Levant, arguing that ecological determinism and endemic internal strife critically hinder any chance of creating a complex and organized society:

> [T]he vile Asiatic is the pain of the place where he is—lacking in water, difficult in many trees, whose roads are painful because of the mountains. He has never settled in any one place, lack of food making him wander away on foot! He has been fighting since the time of Horus. He cannot prevail; he cannot be prevailed over. (Parkinson 1997: 223; 34 [P 91])

It is understandable how, from an Egyptian perspective, a country without a large river for irrigation and not parceled by canals could create a stable subsistence economy, never mind the surpluses needed to maintain a complex society. Similarly, forests and mountains were not seen as natural resources, but as formidable natural obstacles, and as major hindrances in creating a controlled landscape.

The Egyptian rulership, with bitter memories from the internal conflict of the First Intermediate Period, attributed traits of unruliness and violence to the people of the Levant. Indeed, the story of Sinuhe, which takes place during the early years of the Twelfth Dynasty, contains a vivid demonstration of how the Egyptians saw the role of violence as a means for establishing personal position and even rights to property in the kingdom of Retenu. Sinuhe the Egyptian becomes a tribal leader and the ruler of Retenu. ʿAmu-inšhi gives him an area to rule, the land of *Iaa*, including its resources. But Sinuhe needs to demonstrate personal prowess to maintain his land and property in a context of interclan rivalry. He leads the forces of ʿAmu-inšhi to war, in what seem to be mostly raids, in which enemy citizens are killed and cattle is looted (Parkinson 1997: 32 B 100–106; Rainey and Notley 2006: 54). When he is challenged by another "warrior of Retenu," who wishes to take his possessions, ʿAmu-inšhi does not intervene, but rather comes together with "all of Retenu" to see the duel. Sinuhe wins, kills his opponent, and loots his tent to the lamentations of the women of the losing clan. Warrior tombs from the early part of the MBI that contain single burials accompanied by weapons, mostly axes, spears, and daggers, testify to the importance of personal prowess in battle to

male identity in what was essentially a pre-urban society (Ziffer 1990: 68*–78*; Cohen and Garfinkel 2007: 60–66). They also indicate that violence played an important role in inter- and possibly intragroup competition for property.

It is likely that a transition toward a consolidated rulership, an urban life, and a decrease in the importance of intergroup violence in relation to property rights occurred already during the MBI. An important source of information is the Egyptian Execration Texts, which enumerate Levantine and other enemies of Middle Kingdom Egypt. The earlier Sethe (1926) or Berlin group, written on clay bowls, is commonly dated to the nineteenth century BCE. The later Posener (1940) or Brussels group, written on figurines of bound captives, is dated to the eighteenth century BCE (Redford 1992: 87). In the earlier group, many sites are accompanied by more than one personal name, while in the later group, most Levantine sites are accompanied by a single name, probably that of the ruler. This transition may have resulted from a swift consolidation of power, the earlier supposedly showing "tribal" life and the later, a sedentary-urban lifestyle (Na'aman 1982: 146; Dever 1993: 106; Falconer 1995: 401; Ilan 2003: 332). However, those scholars who suggest this interpretation of the texts have mostly used a chronology for the texts that is earlier than the one offered by Redford, one that dates the early group to the twentieth century and the later group to the nineteenth century, thus supporting a pre-urban phase and an urban one. However, if a lower chronology for the texts is correct, then both groups of texts reflect a change within an already urbanized society. This rising rulership needed symbols to manifest its power and to transform the supposedly chaotic, pre-urban landscape reflected in Sinuhe to an organized landscape of rulership. With the lack of local tradition of monumental structures, ideas about monuments, such as earthen ramparts, Syrian-style gates, and Migdal temples, were borrowed from the Syrian urban tradition.

In an important yet little-cited article, Kempinski (1992a) makes a comparison between the plan of the ramparts in Kabri and Dan. In both towns, impressive building programs took place during late MBI on top of an earlier MBI unfortified settlement. The builders had in mind an ideal plan of a Syrian city, such as Ebla or Qatna, in which the site is given a regular oval or rectangular shape by ramparts with gates at the four cardinal directions. Naturally, the utopian landscape of the Syrian and Mesopotamian tradition, existing in its pure form perhaps



Figure 2. Aerial view of Tel Kabri (after Kempinski 2002: Fig. 1.1).

only in the idealized realm of cuneiform texts, is more easily translatable into the reality of the large Syrian plains or the flat Mesopotamian landscape than to the fractured geography of the Levant. Thus, in reality, the springs of Dan and Kabri dictated a slightly different shape for the layout of each mound, as well as the positioning of the gates. At Kabri (Fig. 2), the exclusion of the ʿEin Giah spring from the area of the site created the irregular shape of the northern part of the tell and dictated the positioning of the northern gate at the northwest corner of the site. In addition, the location of the western gate was pushed a little to the south in order to facilitate the draining of ʿEin Shefaʿ. Thus, flawed as it is, a city is born. As Greenberg (2002: 109) argues for the symbolic value of the ramparts: "the ramparts were used by its builders to give concrete form to a pre-existing concept of 'city;' it was a conventional symbol of urbanism."

As we shall see below, the flaws were not only in the implementation of an ideal plan on less than ideal geography, but also in the lack of consideration for the impact that such building programs had on private households.

Megiddo: Fortification and Resistance

At Megiddo, the considerable height of the Early Bronze Age tell hindered any possibility for a considerable enlargement of the site's area to accommodate both the building of the MBI fortifications and the natural development of domestic areas. Thus, as one might expect, the plan of the site, especially of the area adjacent to the walls, reflects an acute friction and power struggle between the rulership and private households through most of the Middle Bronze Age.

MBI habitation started in Stratum XIV, which is dated to the early part of the MBI. At that time, the site was an unfortified village. Stratum XIII in Area AA at Megiddo, dated to the middle part of MBI, is characterized by the appearance of a well-planned, elaborate fortification system (Loud 1948: 6–8, Fig. 378; Burke 2008: 291–292) (Fig. 3). It includes a stepped approach, a gate, a brick city-wall, and an inner tower or small fort (4014)—a solid, rectangular structure similar in shape to the one found by the south gate at Gezer (Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.20).

Since the excavators did not reach Stratum XIV in Area AA, there are no data available regarding the impact of the building of fortifications on earlier domestic structures. House remains from Stratum XIII are less well preserved, but they are evident through a series of small tombs dug below the floors, such as T. 4088, 4095, and 4103. In Stratum XII (Fig. 4), the gate to the town was presumably moved to the east, while in Area AA, the formal architecture of the Stratum XIII gate and tower was replaced by at least three large courtyard houses (Loud 1948: Figs. 23, 378). Their northern wall is adjacent to the city's fortification and a street runs to their south. Burials were dug below the floors of these houses (T. 4094, 4099, 4107, 4108); the scale of their grave offerings, mostly little more than a handful of jugs and bowls, continues the traditions of Stratum XIII.

The pendulum swung again in the direction of rulership initiatives in Stratum XI, the transition between MBI and MBII (Loud 1948: Fig. 379; Burke 2008: 292) (Fig. 5), when a new fortification program was implemented, including the addition of an eastern rampart, a glacis, and a gate. The elaboration of the fortifications erased the courtyard houses of Stratum XII. A new street separated the fortifications from a new group of houses built to the south, facilitating quick access to the wall, unhindered by private houses.

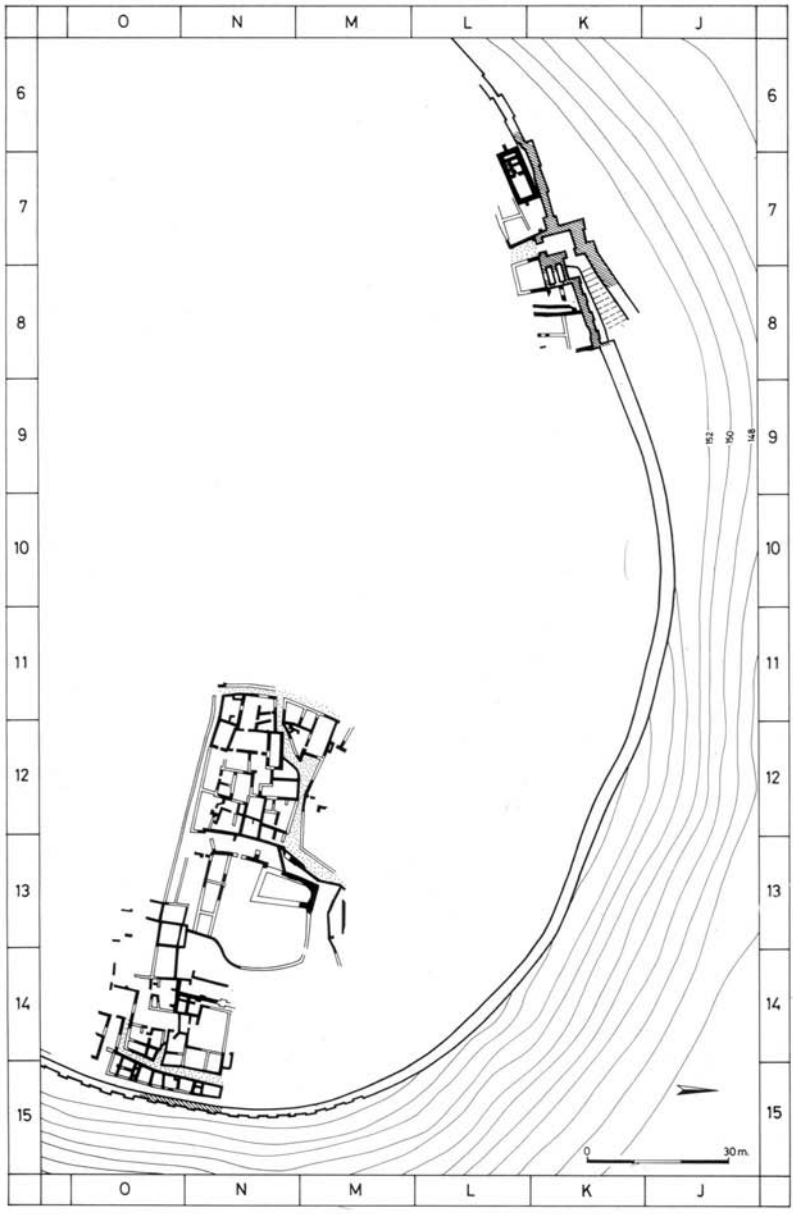


Figure 3. Megiddo Stratum XIII (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.2).



Figure 4. Megiddo Stratum XII (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.3).



Figure 5. Megiddo Stratum XI (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.17).

It is expected that the manifestation of the rulership's power to reshape the public sphere at the expense of the private, domestic sphere met with dissent and resistance from those whose houses were destroyed. This resistance may have channeled itself into a new venue of legitimization of private ownership in this stratum: the multiple burial tombs. Such built tombs were found under the floors of each of the three houses excavated in Area AA: T. 4055 + 4056, 3175, and 4099 (Loud 1948: Figs. 29, 32) (Fig. 6). These tombs had a main burial chamber with a *dromos* leading to it from one of the inner rooms of each house. The large volume of the burial chamber allowed multiple burials over a time span of generations. The long list of grave goods found in Tombs 4055 + 4056, including metals and scarabs, indicate that multiple burials were indeed practiced in this phase.

This was a site-wide phenomenon, for similar built tombs appear in the same stratum also in Area BB: T. 3075 and 3085 (Loud 1948: Fig. 218) both contained enormous amounts of pottery, as well as metal objects and jewelry. In constructing these tombs, the house became not only the residence of its current inhabitants, but a manifestation of a lineage, which includes both the living and their ancestors. These may have been reciprocal relations. The living honored the dead, perhaps also with offerings and feasts, and the dead, ever present in their own subterranean room of the house, gave historical depth and legitimacy to the claims of the living regarding their property.

Dan: Buried Houses and Instability

Dan was fortified during the latest part of the MBI or during the transition to MBII (Biran 1994: 62; Ilan 1996: 164–165; Greenberg 2002: 35) (Fig. 7). The impressive fortification system included a rampart with a stone core encircling the entire tell, and a gate found in Area K. This massive, six-pier brick gate reflects imported Syrian architectural traditions. Surprisingly, the fortification system was used for only a brief period of time. It was built during Stratum XI, the latest phase of the MBI period. A small pottery assemblage found on the latest floor of the gate provides a *terminus ante quem* for its use (Biran 1994: 82 Fig. 50), and it is assigned to the same stratum, possibly dating to transitional MBI–MBII.

The construction of ramparts at a site that had not been previously fortified created a dramatic change in the use of available habitation

and fortification space. In Area B, MBI habitation levels belonging to Stratum XII were buried under the rampart (Biran 1994: 51). The possible clash between ancestral rights over land and the needs of the rulership is seen in Area Y, where T. 1025 and 902c–d, probably originally located below the floors of houses, were also sealed by the rampart (Ilan 1996: 164, 202–208).

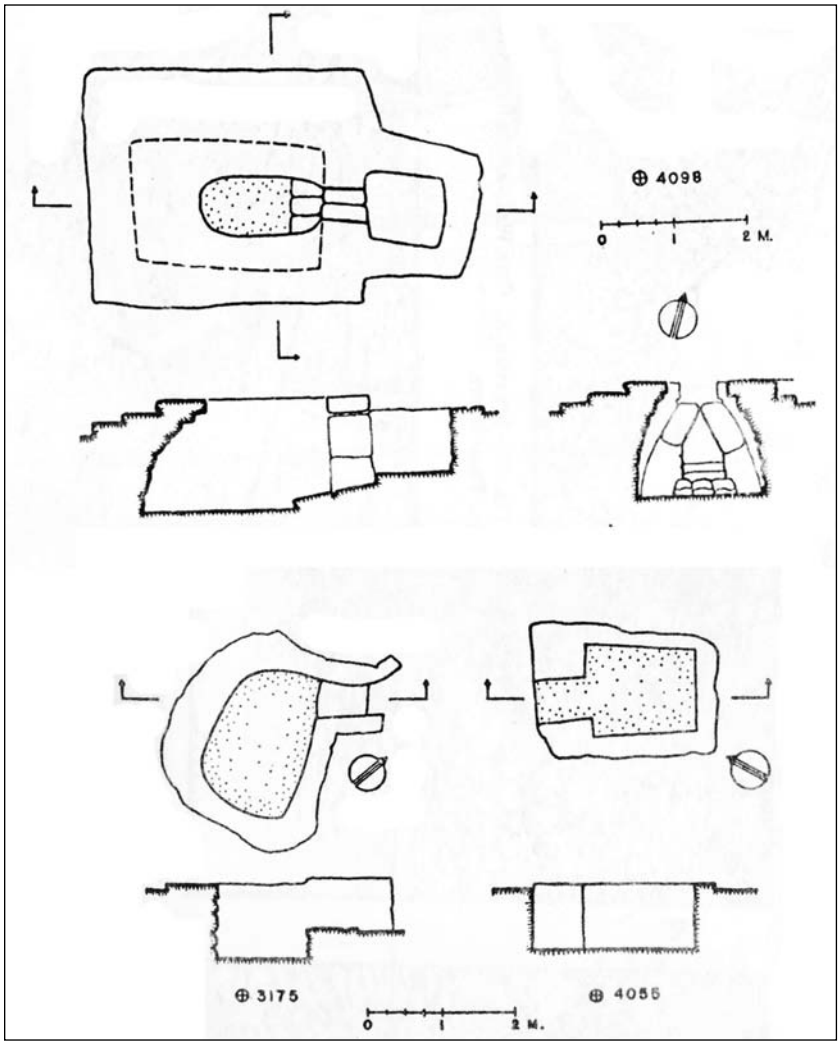


Figure 6. Megiddo T. 4055 + 4056, 3175, and 4099 (after Loud 1948: Figs. 29, 32).

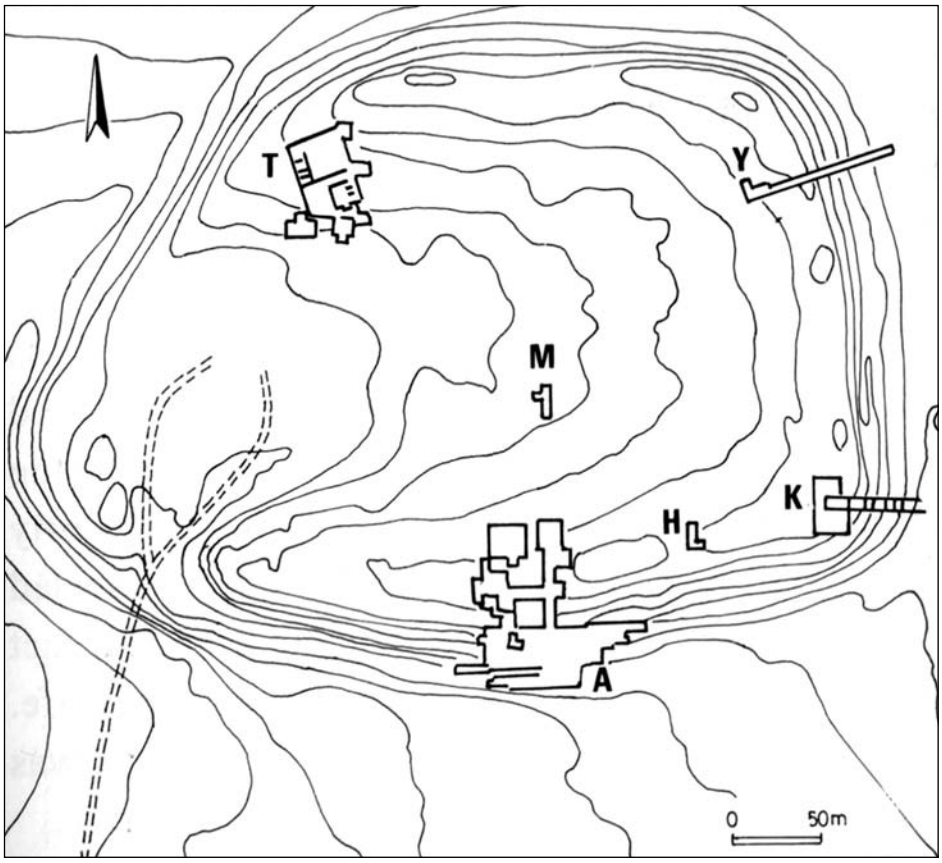


Figure 7. Tel Dan (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.7A).

The building of fortifications on top of domestic structures, without an enlargement of the size of the site that would allow those affected to rebuild their houses within the new boundaries of the ramparts, was no doubt an action dictated in part by the politics of inclusion and exclusion. However, it is possible that this, in turn, created social instability, which contributed to the rapid decline of Dan soon thereafter. During the MBII period, Dan's magnificent Syrian gate was blocked up, and finds from tombs indicate that Dan's links to trade and influence from outside the region were almost completely severed. In fact, it is likely that the site became subordinate to Hazor and was incorporated into the kingdom of Hazor (Maeir 2000: 39).

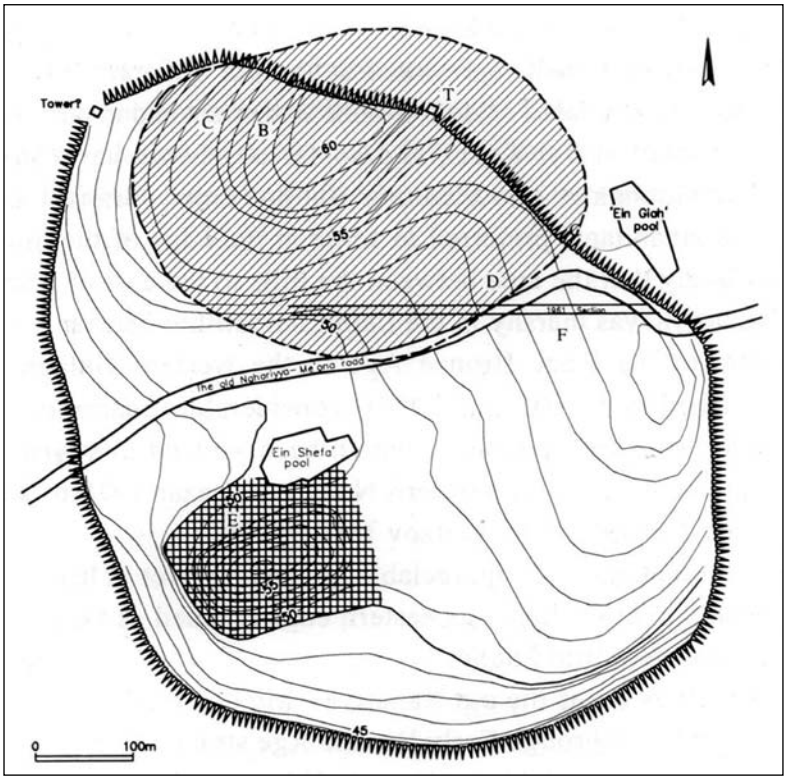


Figure 8. EB and MB tells at Kabri (after Kempinski 2002: Fig. 17.1).

Kabri: Recreation of the Tell and Synoikism

The settlement of the early and middle phases of the MBI at Kabri was very likely limited to the area of the oval 7.5–8 ha Early Bronze Age tell (Kempinski 2002: 449–450) (Fig. 8). However, during the later part of the MBI, an ambitious building program enlarged the area of the site to at least 34 ha including the construction of a massive earthen rampart with a stone core. According to Kempinski, the earlier tell was levelled in some places to create a large, flat surface for the new building program.

Besides the fortifications, the urbanization of Kabri included the construction of a palace in the eastern part of the tell, in Area D. The early phase of the palace, Stratum 4, was dated by Kempinski and Niemeier to the late MBI period. It was followed by several later phases



Figure 9. Kabri Area D-West: Wall 733 and rooms from the early phase of the palace (after Yasur-Landau and Cline 2008: Fig. 9a).

belonging to the MBII period in Stratum 3 (Oren 2002: 55–70). The renewed excavations at the site, directed by Eric H. Cline and the present author, found that the MB palace is considerably larger than originally estimated by the previous excavators. It is at least 3000–4000 m^2, rather than 2000 m^2, and extends further to the north, east, and west than previously thought (Cline and Yasur-Landau 2007: 158).

Excavations during the 2008 season in Area D-West, at the core of the palace, established the monumental nature of the palace from its very foundation, exposing a 2 m thick internal wall belonging to the late MBI period, as well as two adjacent rooms (Yasur-Landau and Cline 2008: 6–7) (Fig. 9). The construction technique of Wall 733, which used roughly drafted, large boulders, bears much resemblance to that of the outer wall of the MB rampart surrounding the tell, which can be seen in Area T, exposed by Kempinski (Kempinski et al. 2002: Fig. 4.25). This similarity in construction style strengthens the hypothesis that the construction of the palace and the rampart was conducted at the same time as part of the same building program.

Below the early palace in this area domestic deposits from the middle part of the MBI were found, seriously damaged by constructional fills and foundation trenches relating to the walls of the palace. These deposits indicate that the palace was built in an area that had been previously occupied by private dwellings. A similar picture is seen ca. 20 meters to the west, below the massive stone foundations of Wall 673, the northeastern external wall of the palace. There, in L. 2091, the top of a smaller wall (Wall 2093) was found, as well as a *tabun* (bread oven), in addition to pottery belonging to the middle phase of MBI (Yasur-Landau and Cline 2008). These probably belong to a domestic structure that predates the construction of the palace.

Moreover, these were not the only domestic structures damaged by the late MBI building program (Fig. 10). Area C, at the north of the tell, was a residential area during the MBI. The pre-rampart remains (originally attributed to Stratum, 4 but which should now be attributed to an earlier phase) included a large, multiroom courtyard building with at least eight rooms encircling a partially paved court that contained a large kiln or oven (Kempinski et al. 2002: 39–41). The court also included, at its north, a built cist burial (502) containing an adult male and a female, and at its south a large masonry tomb (503), also containing an adult male and a female. To the south of the structure, another large masonry tomb (498) contained the remains of at least 23 individuals (Kempinski et al. 2002: 51–52).

The construction of the rampart severely affected the northeastern part of the building (Fig. 11). The rooms that were adjacent to the city wall were abandoned and their walls were levelled and covered by a layer of burnt clay (Kempinski et al. 2002: 42–44). Furthermore, the rampart sealed T. 503, ending its use (ibid.: 49–50). However, despite the impact of the rampart on the Area C structure, domestic life continued in the area until the destruction of the site in the late MBII period. The eastern wing of the house survived, mainly intact, and a new central court was formed to compensate for the loss of much of this area to the rampart. New burials interred within the new central court indicate that practices connecting kinship and ownership of a domestic area did not cease even after the blow suffered from the construction of the rampart.

Despite the fact that, in all likelihood, a number of people lost their houses during the construction of the palace and ramparts of Kabri, the situation at the site was not as grave as at contemporary Dan. The enlargement of the site created an addition of at least 25 ha to the area that was available for private buildings. The people who lost their

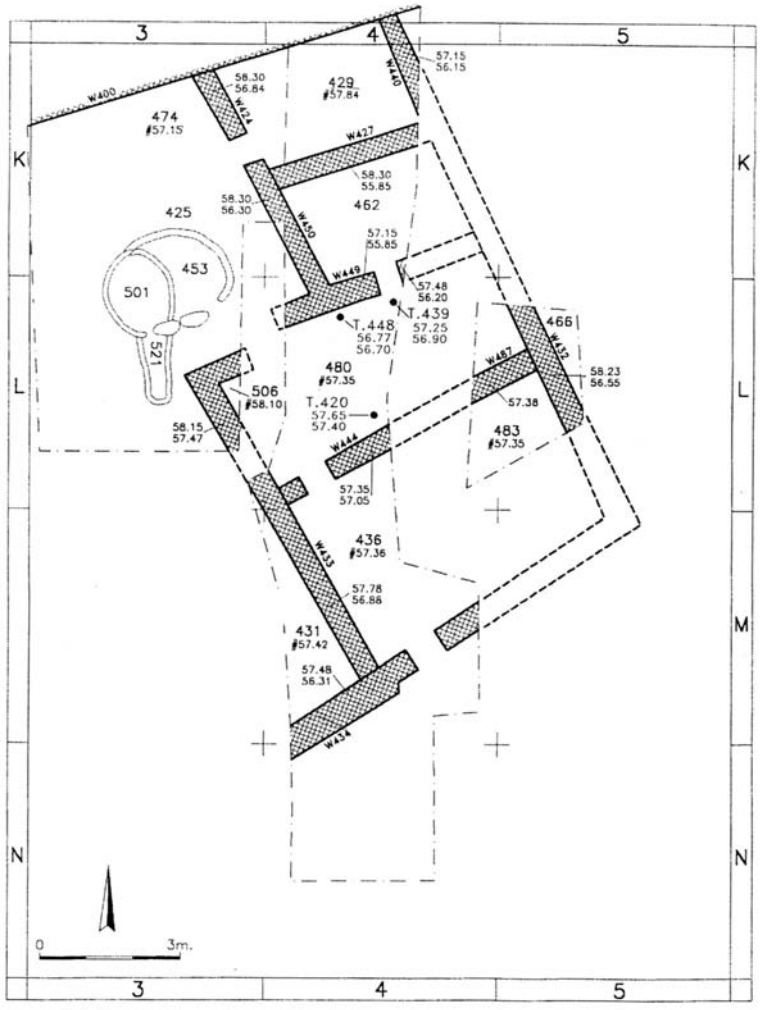


Figure 10. Kabri Area C: domestic structures before the construction of the rampart (after Kempinski et al. 2002: Fig. 4.26).

homes could have easily found another place to live within the site of Kabri. Furthermore, it is possible that additional people flocked to the city from the countryside. Survey work in the hinterland of the polity of Kabri (Yasur-Landau et al. 2008) has demonstrated that the rise of Kabri was accompanied on the one hand by the fortification of secondary sites in its hinterland, such as Achziv and Avdon, and on the other hand by a process of nucleation and the disappearance of many small rural sites.

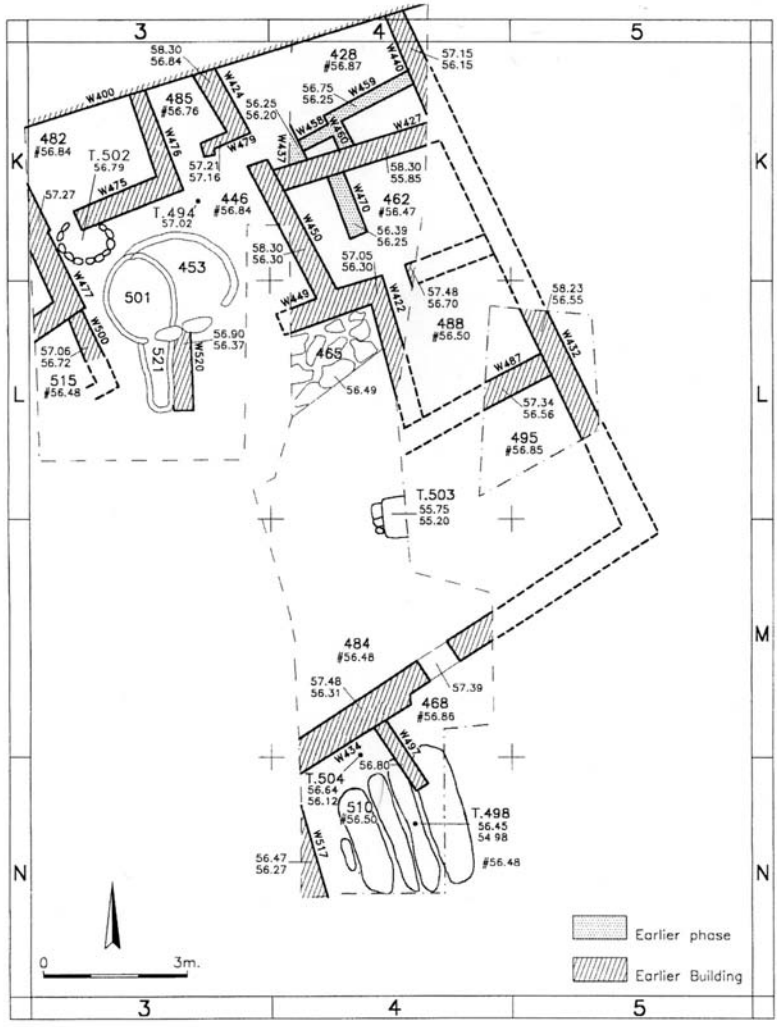


Figure 11. Kabri Area C: domestic structures after the construction of the rampart (after Kempinski et al. 2002: Fig. 4.31).

These changes were very likely connected to a process of *synoikism*, because population estimates strongly suggest that this nucleation was not accompanied by any significant increase or decrease in overall numbers. It is easy to see how the Kabri rulership did not object to, and may have even encouraged, this process, since it resulted in greater control over the populace and further facilitated access to the human resources needed for the construction of large public works

such as fortifications. It is easy to see how such a population could have found a place to build its home within the huge area encircled by the Kabri ramparts.

An Implementation of a Syrian Model?

At Hazor, tombs and scattered pottery on the upper tell indicate that the site was founded as a small village no earlier than the MBI–MBII transition. Immediately afterward, possibly in the earliest MBII, the site was fortified with an immense rampart, adding a huge lower town to the existing upper tell, with a total area of ca. 74 ha (Maeir 1997: 327; Ben-Tor 2005: 51; Burke 2008: 265–271) (Fig. 12).

Kempinski (1992b: 125) saw the urban layout of MB Hazor as a mixture of preplanning and internal development. The upper tell was dedicated to temples and possibly a palace. The lower tell included vast areas in which domestic structures could develop side by side with formal structures such as the Syrian-style orthostats temple in Area H (Yadin 1972: 75–79; Yadin et al. 1989: Plan XXXVII, XLI) (Fig. 13) and the gates in Areas K and P (Yadin 1972: 58–65; Yadin et al. 1989: Plan XLII; Mazar 1997a: Plans V.2, V.4) (Fig. 14). This was, in fact, a very common solution in Syria and Mesopotamia, seen, for example, in the upper and lower tells at Ebla (Pinnock 2001). Another striking example of the combination of planning with long-term organic development can be seen in the Kassite map of Nippur (Smith 2003: 216). This was no doubt a very successful solution to the conflict between urbanization and the ability of the ruler to enforce power on large groups of households. It ensured, on the one hand, that the general outline of the city would not change for centuries, and, on the other hand, minimized the friction between the needs for domestic space and official space.

The idea for this solution at Hazor may not have been invented locally, but was probably derived directly from the Syro-Mesopotamian urban traditions. The many examples of Syrian-style architecture at MBII Hazor, as well as cuneiform tablets from the site, speak of the important position of the site in the international economic and cultural networks of the Old Babylonian period. As the only site in Canaan mentioned in the Mari archive (e.g., Malamat 1989: 52–69), the rulers of Hazor were unique in having direct access to the Mesopotamian urban tradition, and very likely unique in the southern Levant

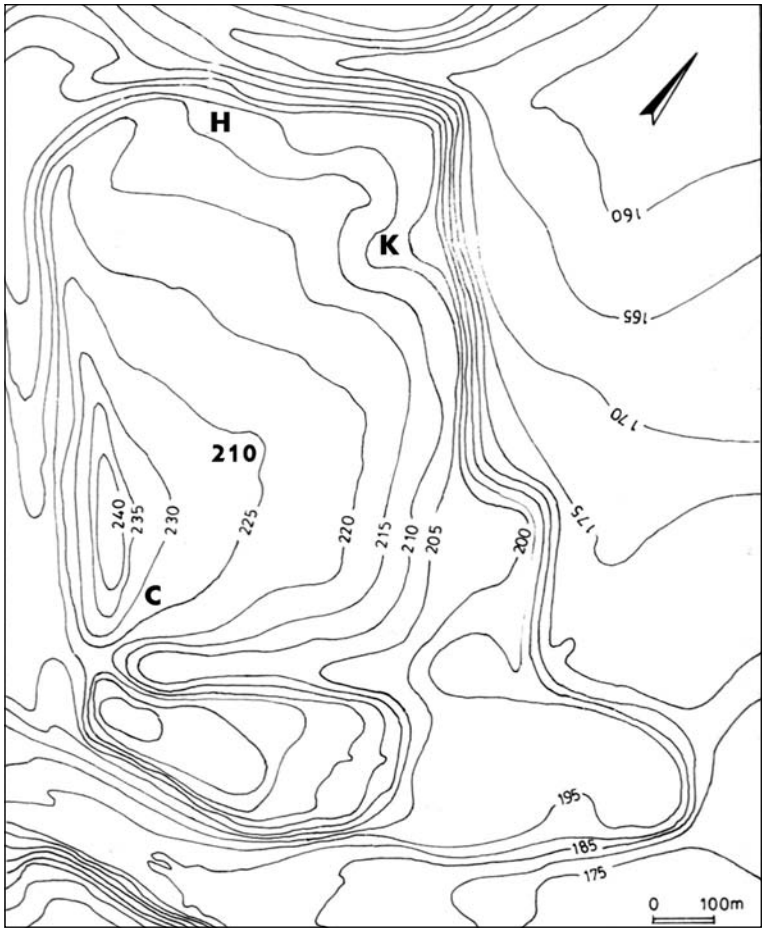


Figure 12. Plan of Hazor (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.8: A).

in terms of implementing a literate administration using cuneiform script.

The impact of these international connections on Hazor included at least the partial adoption of Syro-Mesopotamian traditions of kingship and world views. Thus, the use of the standard Mesopotamian encyclopedic lexical list (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 73) and a mathematical text (Horowitz 1997; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 78–80) were potent mediums for acculturation, used to train scribes in literary traditions that were previously foreign to Canaan. Practices directly connected with rulership were also imported through the use of written documents,

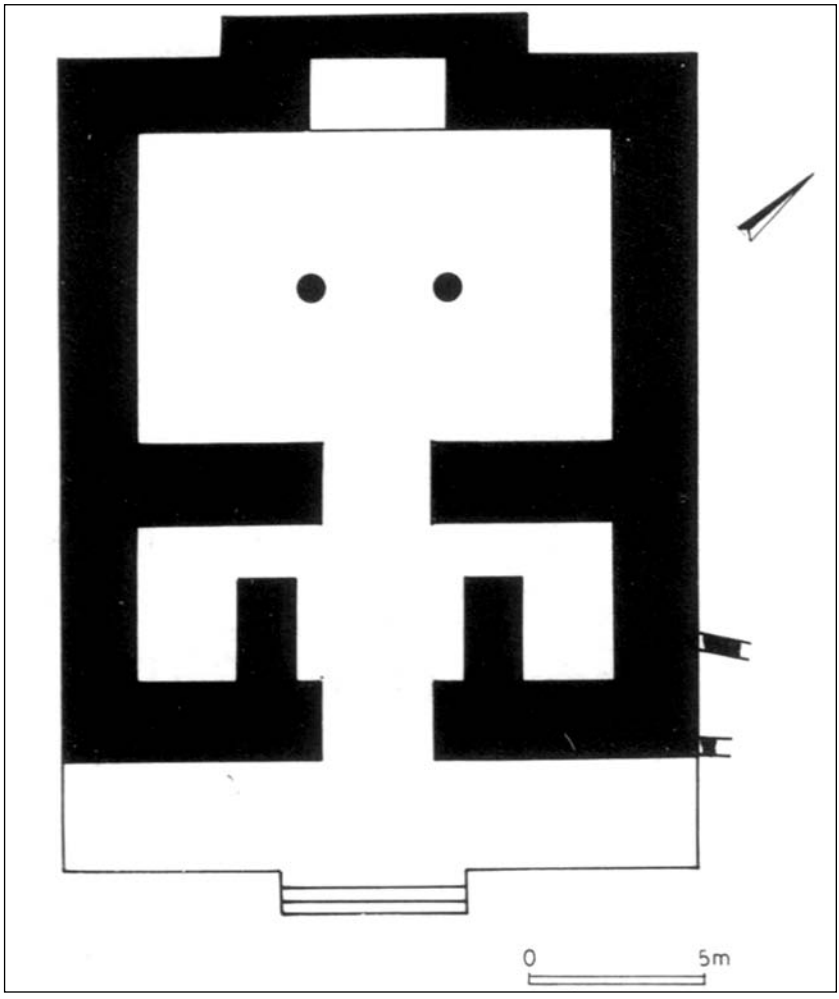


Figure 13. Hazor Area H, the temple of Stratum 3 (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.8: C).

as seen in the ceramic liver models (Landsberger and Tadmor 1964), including one mentioning conflict between kings and enemy attacks. These were no doubt used to educate divinators in giving correct *omina* in the service of a king.

It is thus not surprising that Hazor provides the only evidence in Canaan for the direct involvement of the king in a land dispute. A cuneiform tablet dealing with a land dispute, found at the site, indicates that the king of Hazor had the power to decide on real estate matters,

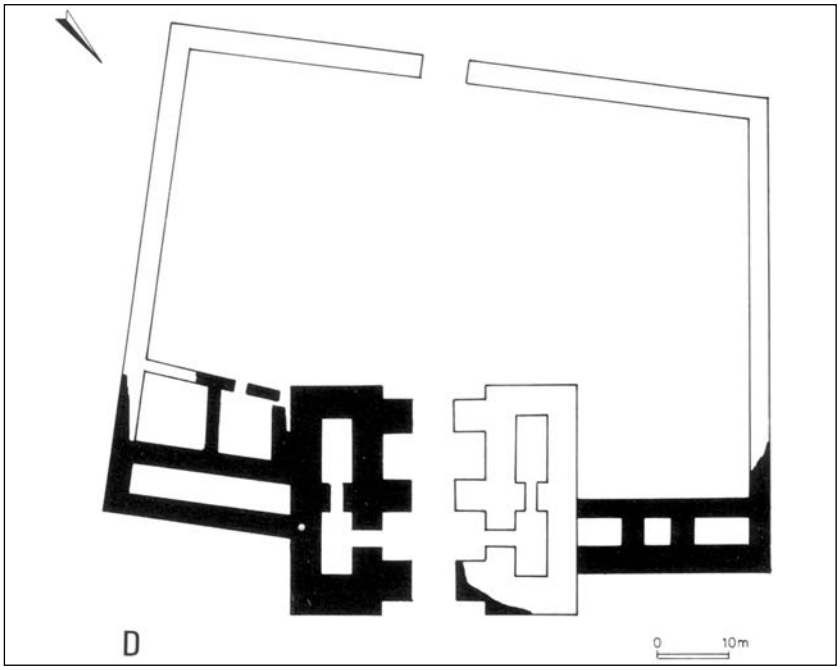


Figure 14. Hazor Area K, the gate of Stratum 3 (after Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.8: D).

both in the city of Hazor and in the kingdom. The tablet mentions Hazor (^{URU}ḫa-zu-ra, line 5) as well as the fact that the trial was held in front of the king (*a-na pa-ni* LUGAL, line 6) (Hallo and Tadmor 1977; Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 69–72):

> Bin-Hanuta and Irpadu and Sum-Hanuta, three junior attendants, a lawsuit against Sumulailum initiated in regard to a home and a garden in the city of Hazor, and a garden in the city of Gilead(?). Before the king, they came in. The king (in favor of) the case of Sumulailum rendered judgment. (Horowitz and Oshima 2006: 60–71 Hazor 4 lines 1–8)

The archaeological evidence for the success of the Hazor model is seen by the fact that the temple and gates, manifestations of the power of the ruler and icons of Syrian urbanism, maintained their position and general plan throughout the later part of the Middle Bronze to the end of the Late Bronze Age, demonstrating the power of the rulership to maintain the outline of urban planning dictated centuries earlier. At the same time, excavations in Area 210 uncovered an area that was used for more than four centuries for domestic structures. The earliest structures in this area were constructed on virgin soil, indicating that

they were built more or less at the same time as the construction of the fortifications of the Lower City in MBII. The plans of the houses thereafter reflect the natural life cycle of a domestic area (Yadin 1972: 47–50; Yadin et al. 1989: Plan XLVI) (Fig. 15).

A similar picture of the dynamic development of vernacular architecture can be seen in Area C (Yadin 1972: 28–38; Yadin et al. 1960: Pls. CCVII, CCVIII, CCIX). In MB Strata 4 and 3, structures included burials of both adults and infants under the floors of the houses, confirming their domestic use. The size of a large courtyard house of Stratum 3 Building 6205 may indicate that building space was not in short supply. The picture changed during the Late Bronze Age, when rooms are smaller in size and structures are more cramped together (Yadin 1972: 34–35). The apparently uninterrupted domestic development in this area led to a shortage of building space in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries and the subsequent appropriation of public space for the needs of the community. The clearest manifestation of this is the construction of Temple C, a vernacular cult place with an irregular plan that is very different from the formal plan of the Area H temple. It was built directly on the conglomerate of the rampart, taking possession of an area that was not intended for habitation according to the original urban layout of the town (Yadin et al. 1958: 83–85; Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. CCVIII) (Fig. 16).

Conclusions

Royal land grants within the city and in the countryside are common in second-millennium-BCE societies in Syria and Mesopotamia, (e.g., Ugarit and Alalakh; Schloen 2001: 241–246, 307–308). This is testimony to the power of the rulers to control and transfer, at least to some extent, land to other individuals, beyond their ability to appropriate land for public works. Thus, for example, in PS 18.500 Amistamru, the king of Ugarit "has taken the houses and fields of Abutenu and gives them to Abdi-Ḫageb son of Shapidanu, and his sons forever" (Helzer 1997: 256–257).

It is likely that this ability to grant land, either as the result of a legal action against an individual, as part of redistribution of land following a conquest, or as a mere confirmation of a land transaction, was dependent on the power held by the king. A study of the Middle Babylonian Kassite documents shows that royal land grants were larger in

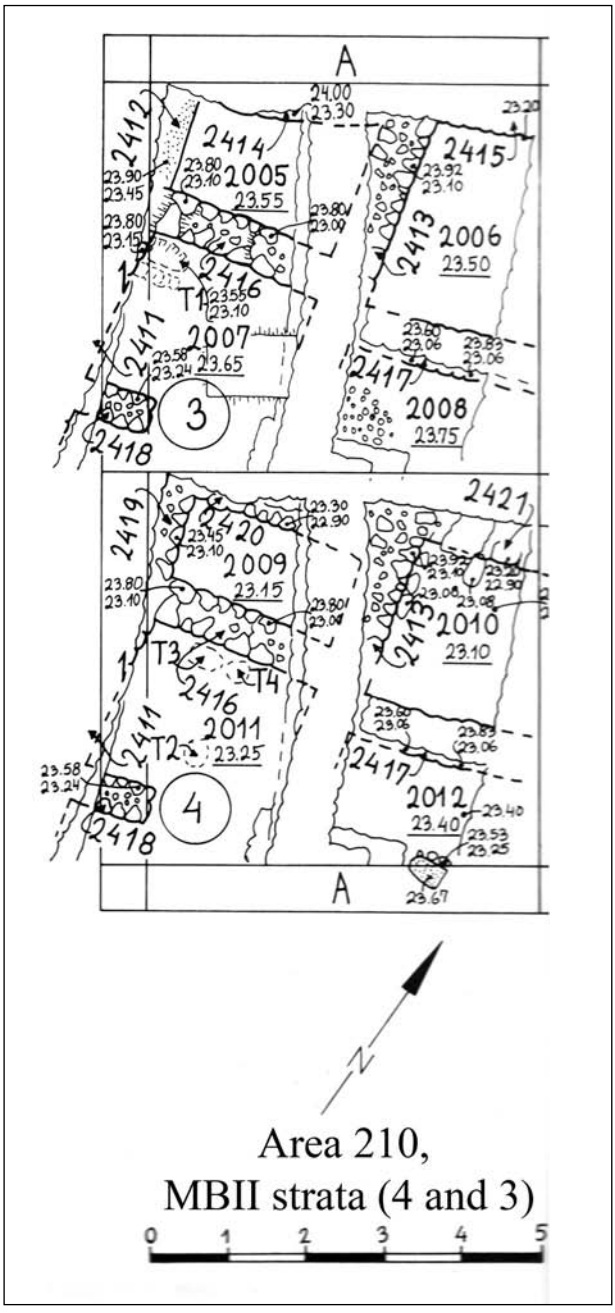


Figure 15. Hazor Area 210 (after Yadin et al. 1989: Pl. XLVI).

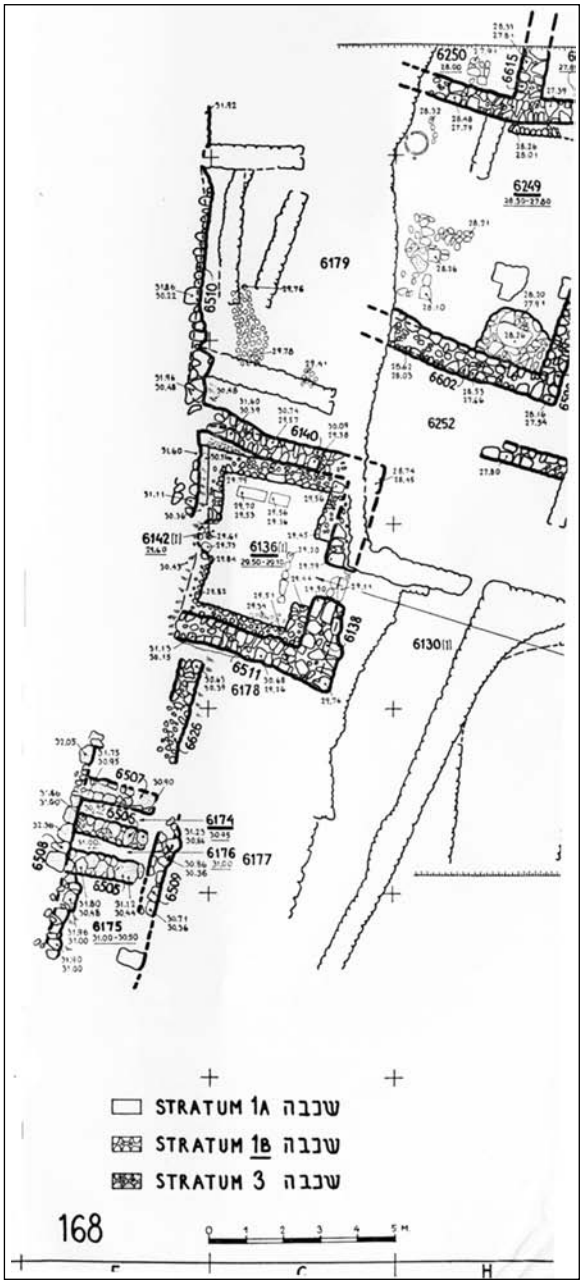


Figure 16. Hazor Area C (after Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. CCVIII).

size in the fourteenth century, at a time of a strong royal power, and decreased in size during the breakdown of the Kassite dynasty in the twelfth century (Schloen 2001: 293–294). However, at least the powerful families were compensated for land taken by the king, as indicated by a *Kudurru* inscription of King Nazi-Maruttaš (1307–1282), noting a land grant for the god Marduk followed by the detailed land compensation for the house of Muktarrisaḫ, from whom the land granted to the god was taken (Schloen 2001: 294–295).

The dialectics of power between rulership and nonroyal foci of power had a direct impact on city plans in Mesopotamia. In discussing the role of politics in the creation of the urban landscape in southern Mesopotamia, Smith (2003: 225–226) goes beyond the simplistic dichotomy of the *ville spontaneé*, the city that grows according to the needs of the inhabitants, and the *ville créé*, a city planned and developed by the central authority. Rather, the difference rests in the political decision of how much and in what manner to intervene with the development of the city. Politics plays an active role in deciding which of the competing city plans, or ideas of urban development, is implemented (ibid.). In early Mesopotamian cities, kings were the major force behind building monuments; however, real political power was held in the hands of assemblies of elders (*puhru*) and mayors (*rabianu*). Even neighborhoods (*babtu*) functioned in the Old Babylonian period as villages within cities, with their own local government system of a mayor and elders (Schloen 2001: 287). Within these neighbourhoods, the sale and transfer of houses and even rooms between private citizens resulted in a complex urban fabric of ownership (Potts 1997: 216–217). Institutions such as the assembly and the mayor existed in Mesopotamia from the Early Dynastic period to the Old Babylonian period, and later, solving social conflicts between private citizens. The activity of these and other nonroyal institutions was sanctioned by the rulership, which, even in the most centralist regimes, did not monopolize decision making (Yoffee 2000: 55–58; Smith 2003: 228–229).

The negotiations between the royal vision and the needs of the inhabitants resulted in complex landscapes, which included, on the one hand, the monumental *temenos* of Ur with its imposing ziggurat, and, on the other hand, the winding streets and alleys of the early Old Babylonian domestic area in area AH of the excavation site (Smith 2003: 212, 222). Such negotiation occurring at a local level resulted in the variability of urban landscapes in Mesopotamia.

It is possible that, in a manner similar to Mesopotamia, groups of elders and heads of kinship groups had an important role in the MB Canaanite towns in restricting the power of the rulers. However, contrary to Old Babylonian Mesopotamia, which already had behind it a millennium of urban experience, and possessing well-tried mechanisms for conflict resolution, Canaanites, at least during the MBI, had no such traditions of either kingship or urban life. The constant power struggle between public projects and private buildings seen at MBI Megiddo, before the first appearance of clear Syrian architectural forms such as the gate and temple, is a clear indication of the inability to reach an urban status quo for as long as two centuries. At the same time, this struggle exposed the fact that private land and house owners, most likely represented by the heads of their kinship groups, had real political power at the dawn of MB urbanization.

The appearance of the Syrian gates and temples at the very end of the MBI and the transition to MBII and their enthusiastic acceptance by the local Canaanite rulers was not accompanied by the introduction of suitable mechanisms for resolving conflicts stemming from the implantation of monumental architecture in an otherwise rural settlement landscape. The imposition of an imported Syrian ideal of order at the site of Tel Dan, with the ramparts and accompanying Syrian gate burying private dwellings, may have left many disgruntled people who could not be compensated for the loss of their property without enlarging the area of the site. The following weakening of the community may well have been a factor in the collapse of the Dan polity soon afterward.

At Kabri, as well as at Dan, the ambitious building plans of the rulers may have been inspired by imported Syrian ideas regarding large-scale town planning; however, the results of Kabri's building plan, which significantly enlarged the size of the site, perhaps in anticipation of drawing in population from the countryside, were much more successful than at Dan. The new outline of the site created a land reserve within the site that could have been used by the people whose houses were affected by the building of the palace and massive ramparts.

The case of Hazor may be an instance in which a city was built and planned *ex-novo* in a way that would minimize friction between the rulers' needs for monumental architecture and the inhabitants' expectations for organic growth and maintaining their rights over their houses. Such a solution was not a local innovation, but was likely imported from the vast Syro-Mesopotamian urban experience. The

important role of the king at Hazor in land disputes recalls a Syro-Mesopotamian prototype and may have been an exception in the political landscape of Canaan. It is possible that, similarly to Mesopotamia, frictions between the rulership and the citizens of cities may have been mediated by community organizations such as councils and groups of elders.

During MBII, when most large tell sites were already fortified with ramparts, and with two centuries of urban experience behind them, the Canaanite populations seemed to have reached a status quo with their rulers about the uses of urban space. The densely built settlements of MBII Jericho (Herzog 1997: Fig. 4.11), Tel Beit Mirsim Stratum E (ibid.: Fig. 4.15), and Gezer (ibid.: Fig. 4.20) tell a tale of an organic development within the fortifications. The largest structure built in Megiddo Stratum X, the Syrian temple, did not affect any private structure, but replaced an earlier open cultic area (ibid.: Fig. 4.18).

The Late Bronze Age brought with it new challenges to the Canaanite rulership, caused by the Egyptian control and its accompanying political and economic demands. New fortification programs were no longer carried out (Herzog 1997: 174), either because of limitations forced by the Egyptian overlords, or because the rulership was not strong enough to start a conflict with the urban population over space. Whatever may be the case, the towns of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BCE reflected the same status quo reached during the Middle Bronze Age. Thus, the Canaanite city, throughout its existence, was a delicate balance between imported ideals of rulership and stubborn and long-lasting resistance of households to such ambitions.

A TALE OF TWO HOUSES: THE ROLE OF POTTERY IN RECONSTRUCTING HOUSEHOLD WEALTH AND COMPOSITION

Nava Panitz-Cohen

The opportunity to examine the complete contents of a building, preserved as is on the day of its sudden and violent destruction, is not particularly common in archaeological excavations, where successive occupation is generally uneventful and entails the periodic partial or complete depletion of the contents (La Motta and Schiffer 1999: 20–21). Such an opportunity arose at Tel Batash (biblical Timnah) in the Shephelah region of Israel, where excavations revealed a succession of four superimposed dwellings dated to the Late Bronze Age (henceforth LB), all of which met a violent end (Mazar 1997b: 41–69). The two earlier structures, dated to LBIA and early LBIB, respectively, were not entirely excavated. The two later houses (Figs. 1 and 2)—Building 475 of late LBIB (Stratum VIII) and Building 315 of LBIIA (Stratum VII)—were found complete with rich assemblages of restorable pottery and other finds. No subsequent house was built above the ruins of the later building and, for the most part, the buildings remained intact. These two later houses were subjected to a distributional analysis (Panitz-Cohen 2006a), which has provided a productive database with which various topics can be examined, including how the quantity and quality of the pottery can inform us about household wealth and composition.

A caveat to our ability to use this rich database to arrive at entirely accurate conclusions is related to the complex physical and cultural formation processes of the archaeological record (Schiffer 1996; David and Kramer 2001: 100). While the comprehensive ceramic data set afforded by these two buildings conforms to the description of "primary deposition" (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 21), for this study we kept in mind that the amount, distribution, and types of finds do not necessarily reflect a direct, one-to-one correlation with actual household activities or other characteristics, such as gender roles or economic status. What is represented is only a snapshot of the location of the contents of the houses at the time of their violent destruction.

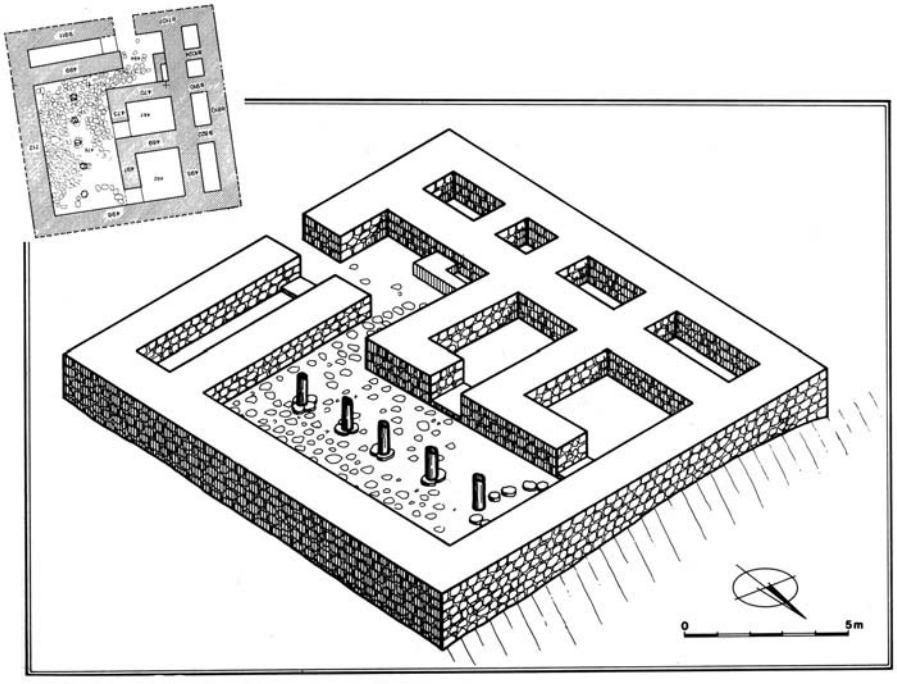


Figure 1. Building 475.

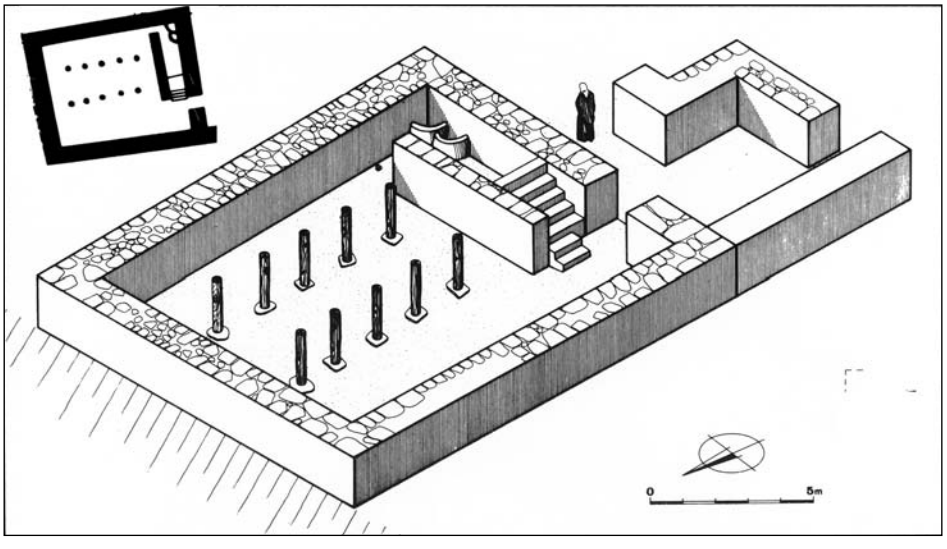


Figure 2. Building 315.

The Ceramic Contents and Distribution in Buildings 475 and 315

A fair number of vessels in each building were discovered *in situ*,[1] while the scattering of sherds from a number of restorable vessels[2] seemed to be an indication of the violent nature of the destruction and/or of the various post-depositional processes.

The distribution of vessel classes in each house is presented in Table 1; the data are based on a count of complete or almost complete vessels and on some sherds published in Plates 21–46 in Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2006.[3] Table 2 shows the number of types per vessel class per building, reflecting the extent of typological variety in each household assemblage.

Building 475

The following is a summary of the distribution of the 170 vessels found in the destruction debris in the earlier house, Building 475 (Fig. 1).

A concentration of 42 vessels was found in the large eastern room, which was divided by a north–south row of pillars; most of the vessels were found *in situ* on the western side of this room, while the eastern side contained a more dispersed scattering of restorable sherds. This assemblage included five storage jars, eight cooking pots, eight bowls, seven jugs, one chalice, one krater, two juglets, and nine Cypriot imports, as well as a funnel. Despite the large number of cooking pots, no facilities for cooking or baking were detected here. In fact, no installations of any sort were identified in this large space, suggesting that it served mainly for storage, food preparation, and craft activity, and/or possibly animal pens.[4]

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[1] The term "*in situ*" can be ambiguous and has alternative meanings (Hodder and Orton 1976: 32). Here the term means "the find-spot of an artifact—its original position of discovery" (Schiffer 1996: 17).

[2] The assumption was that the larger and denser the concentration of restorable sherds in one area is, the more likely it is that this area is where the vessel was broken (Daviau 1993: 29); it is less certain whether it follows that this is also where the vessel was regularly used.

[3] A detailed discussion of the methodology of this study and complete details of the contents of both houses and the distribution of finds are presented in Panitz-Cohen 2006a.

[4] In her analysis of this house, Daviau (1993: 318) contended that this area functioned as a "primary food preparation area," also noting that it probably served as the main living room. Her conclusions, however, were based on limited preliminary publication of the finds in Building 475, as she aptly notes.

Table 1. Comparative distribution of pottery vessels in Buildings 475 and 315 (percentages rounded off)

	Building 475	Building 315
Outer dimensions	*179.5 sq m*	*149.8 sq m*
Net floor space	*77 sq m*	*95.6 sq m*
Class	N %	N %
Bowls	39	26
	23	*27*
Chalices	2	2
	1	2
Goblets	–	1
	–	*1*
Kraters	3	6
	2	*6*
Cooking pots	28	12
	16	*12*
Storage jars	40	15
	23	*15*
Biconical vessels	4	3
	2	*3*
Jugs	25	13
	14	*13*
Juglets	4	3
	2	*3*
Lamps	3	1
	2	*1*
Stands	–	1
	–	*1*
Funnels	4	2
	2	*2*
Imports	18	12
	12	*12*
Total in building	170	97

Table 2. Typological variability per building: number of types per class

Class	Building 475 No. of types	Building 315 No. of types
Bowls	5	7
Chalices/Goblets	1	2
Kraters	2	1
Cooking pots	1	1
Storage jars	1	1
Biconical vessels	3	3
Jugs	3	3
Juglets	2	2
Lamps	2	2

Fourteen vessels were found *in situ* in the entrance space, including five storage jars, two bowls, one krater, two jugs, and two lamps, as well as two imported Base Ring juglets. In addition, this area contained four non-pottery objects, including the only scarab found in this building, a spindle whorl, and a bronze arrowhead.

By far the largest concentration of vessels was found in the southernmost of the two small rooms in the northwest of the building, with 63 vessels in an area of only 6.6 m^2. The corner containing most of the vessels had a thick layer of black organic burnt material, suggesting that there might have been shelves and/or mats here. This large assemblage contained nineteen storage jars, thirteen cooking pots, twelve bowls, and eight jugs, as well as a few lamps, funnels, juglets, biconical vessels, and Cypriot imports. Several of the storage jars were painted, including a small jar with a unique processional scene (Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2006: 395, Pl. 31: 1). The small objects found here included several pestles, hammerstones, and a weight. The contents of the room do not shed light on any particular function; perhaps it served as a kind of pantry.

The northernmost of the two small rooms contained 35 vessels in a somewhat larger space (8.9 m^2), including twelve storage jars, ten bowls, seven jugs, four cooking pots, a chalice, and a biconical amphora. The finds from this room do not suggest a specific function, although the relatively large number of storage jars might imply that it was used for storage.

While ethnographic studies show that closed-off rooms such as these two found in the west of the building often serve as dwellings

for nuclear families within the wider extended clan (Kramer 1979),[5] the very large number of vessels found in these rooms seems to preclude such a use, at least at the time of the house's destruction. A couple with two or three small children inhabiting a room of some 6.6 m^2 that contains 63 vessels including storage jars would seem to be too crowded for comfort. However, the possibility does exist that the presence of so many vessels in this room was the result of some contingency, emergency, or temporary situation and that in routine times, this room did serve as a dwelling unit for a nuclear family.

The western part of Building 475 had a narrow row of small chambers that had no entrances and were possibly accessed from an upper floor. Fourteen vessels were recovered from the northernmost chamber, which measured only 3.4 m^2, including six bowls and two of each of the following: cooking pots, storage jars, Cypriot imports, and funnels. The finds from the middle chamber included one bowl, one cooking pot, three storage jars, and four Cypriot imports; however, as opposed to the northern room where complete restorable vessels were recovered, the latter contained mainly sherds. The two southernmost cells were found empty. Thus, the assumption that these were storage cells (Mazar 1997b: 57) is not supported by the recovered contents. However, it may be that these small spaces contained seasonal deposits of grain, but were not in use at the time of destruction; we might then be able to infer the season in which the house was destroyed.

Although the building had a stairway, the depth of accumulation and dispersion of the finds did not clearly indicate the existence of two stories. Perhaps the staircase accessed the roof, which might have been used for various purposes, such as storage, seasonal entertaining or sleeping (Daviau 1993: 39). It is possible that the second story was only partial or the construction of another house on top of this one removed any remains. It seems that the entire house was roofed based on the small adjoining rooms in the west and the column bases running through the larger hall to the east.

The assemblage recovered from this house reflects a functional household repertory, with bowls (23%) and storage jars (23%) being the most plentiful, followed by cooking pots (16%) and jugs (14%). All

[5] Alongside the purely functional aspect of such subdivisions, the social significance of how the house plan shaped interaction and the distribution of power is discussed in various studies (i.e., Nielsen 1995; Faust 1999, 2003).

the vessels from this building were locally made (Panitz-Cohen 2006b: 12–26), aside from the Cypriot imports. The latter could have fulfilled the role of fine tableware or might have been containers for some precious commodity. No luxury items such as jewelry were found in this building; it is possible that the inhabitants were able to flee with their portable possessions before the destruction. Indeed, no skeletons were found in this house as in the subsequent dwelling. Alternatively, small luxury items could have been looted in antiquity after the destruction. The small number of kraters (3) suggests that food preparation was carried out in different vessels, possibly in large bowls or in the cooking pots themselves, in jugs, or in other vessels of various materials (Meadows 1997: 24). Cooking was not conducted indoors, although the cooking pots were kept inside.

Building 315

Building 315 was apparently constructed very soon after the destruction of the previous house, as three of the outer walls were rebuilt and several elements continued to be used (Mazar 1997b: 58–65). This new house was smaller, as the western wing of the earlier house was demolished and a street was built on top of it. It should be noted, however, that Building 315 had more floor space than the earlier Building 475 due to the lack of any interior division of rooms (Fig. 2).

Of the 97 vessels found in the destruction debris of this building, more than half were discovered *in situ*. The over one meter of debris contained two distinct layers of finds: an upper layer, which had most likely fallen from an upper story, and a lower layer, which was found on or near the floor. Although the distinction between the two was not always entirely clear, the division can still inform of the building's use, as well as its destruction. A relatively large number of small objects and luxury items (see below), such as a Base Ring bull rhyton, a unique Cypriot White Shaved spindle bottle, cylinder seals, scarabs, beads, and a pair of bronze cymbals (all published in Panitz-Cohen and Mazar 2006) were found in the upper layer and had perhaps been in use in the private quarters that might have occupied the top story. Small artifacts, especially those of some value, are often considered good indicators of the main living rooms of a house (Daviau 1993: 53).

The building was divided into three long spaces by two rows of north–south pillars. Finds in the eastern space came mainly from its

southern half, while the stone-paved northern half was almost empty of finds and might have served as an animal pen or for household tasks that did not require the use of vessels. Four bowls, two cooking pots, three jugs, one painted storage jar, and one Cypriot juglet were found in the southeastern part of the main hall.

The major concentration of vessels and other finds was in the western space. The northern end of this space contained nine bowls, one goblet, five kraters, five cooking pots, one storage jar, two jugs and two juglets, a stand, and two funnels, as well as two Cypriot imports. A semi-circular bin in the northwestern corner was found empty. The other major concentration of finds was in the southern part of this western space, and it included bowls, kraters, cooking pots, a storage jar, a biconical vessel, and an imported Cypriot juglet. The position and association of these vessels have no particular pattern and it is difficult to know if their find spot reflects their original placement or was the result of the destruction or other post-depositional factors.

The central space contained no pottery. A skeleton and three bronze arrowheads found here, as well as a second skeleton found near the entrance to the building, might be evidence of a battle waged during the destruction.

It is assumed that the entire lower story had been roofed (Mazar 1997b: 59) and could have been used for storage and animal pens, as well as for household tasks, such as food preparation, and small crafts, such as spinning or dyeing.[6] As no cooking installations were found indoors, it seems that, as in the earlier house, all cooking was conducted in the front courtyard. Since there was no subdivision of the inner space into rooms (aside from a small cell that was formed by a secondary partitioning), it seems that the private living/sleeping quarters were most likely on the upper story.

The space below the stairwell contained 26 vessels that could be identified *in situ*. The double bin in the southeastern corner of this space contained a storage jar, a Cypriot Base Ring jug, and a White Shaved juglet. A northern row of vessels included two storage jars, as well as bowls, jugs, and a cooking pot, while the southern row had seven storage jars (two of which were nicely painted) and one jug that

[6] No loom weights were found in any of the LB houses and, in fact, loom weights are generally rare at other contemporary sites as well. Yasur-Landau (2007) suggested that this may have been due to different weaving technologies practiced at this time.

contained a cluster of bronze arrowheads, as well as a spearhead fused with charred almonds (see color photo in Kelm and Mazar 1995: 78, Fig. C9). It is difficult to know if these contents reflect the routine use of this vessel as storage or a ritual cache (Schiffer 1996: 79–80), or if this was a hoard in response to an impending emergency. Wheat was found in one of the storage jars (Kislev et al. 2006); thus, the space below the stairs was probably used as a pantry. Daviau noted that a dark space such as this would be suitable for the storage of oil, wine, and possibly beer (Daviau 1993: 40, 321).

The assemblage in this building, like its predecessor, was mostly utilitarian or domestic in nature. The most frequent class of vessels is bowls (27%), followed by an almost equal proportion of storage jars (15%), jugs (13%), and cooking pots (12%). The imported vessels constitute the same ratio as in the dwelling from the previous stratum (12%). However, the imports in Building 315 included at least one Mycenaean vessel, as well as several special Cypriot imports, such as a Base Ring bull rhyton and a unique White Shaved spindle bottle (Steel 2006). The latter two items are usually found in tombs, with the White Shaved bottle being extremely rare even in mortuary contexts; their presence in this house, then, is quite unusual. Based on a survey of Levantine sites in which Mycenaean pottery has been found, van Wijngaarden (2002: 116) suggested that Mycenaean wares were common among all social strata in the main urban centers and coastal emporia, such as Ugarit, Tell Abu Hawam, and Megiddo, but were limited to the "local ruling elite" or a "specific, wealthy social group" in the smaller regional centers such as Tel Batash. On the other hand, most types of Cypriot imports are well known in LBIIA Levantine contexts, and they may not represent wealth or privilege as they do in earlier strata, when importation had only just begun (Oren 2001: 140).

Judging by the large number of small objects and the skeletons, it seems that the destruction took the inhabitants by surprise more so than the destruction of the earlier house.

Definition of a Patrician House: Does Size Count?

Since the architecture of both buildings does not follow any particular blueprint and does not provide clear information on function, the conclusion that these were dwellings is based on the typical household

ceramic repertoire, which primarily includes vessels for food preparation, serving, consumption, and storage. Additional household objects include those related to small crafts production, such as spinning, small-scale economic transactions (cylinder seals, weights), domestic cult (figurines, cymbals), personal adornment (beads), and a limited sample of what might be considered prestige or luxury items, including several rare imports; most of these were found in the later house (Daviau 1993: 47–48, 446).

The identification of a dwelling as a "patrician house" (Oren 1992) belonging to a family of wealth is most often based on the overall dimensions of the building and the quality of its construction, as well as the large number and variety of vessels and other items found in it (Smith 1987: 237; Ilan 2001: 322–323). The question of what, in fact, constitutes valid criteria by which one can infer the status and wealth of a household is open to discussion. One such criterion is indeed house size.[7] Some ethnographic studies indicate a correlation between family wealth and house size, but also caution as to the complexity of the relationship. Kramer (1979) points out that when determining wealth, it is not overall house size alone that needs to be considered, but rather how many dwelling units and service rooms there are (excluding the courtyard) and the quality of the building materials, such as an extensive use of wood in a deforested area or labor-intensive stone floors. In rural societies, wealth and status are usually measured by ownership of land and animals more so than by house size (Kramer 1979: 152–153). However, there is often a correlation between house size and wealth, since landowning families tend to reside in the village for several generations, as opposed to landless newcomers (for whom land is no longer available for purchase), and thus the former would have larger houses, since they were able to build at a time when the village was less densely inhabited (Kramer 1979: 149–152; also Mills 1999). Chesson (2003: 87) cites reasons other than wealth that explain large house size, such as population shifts, marriage and residence patterns, and other economic, social, and political issues related to the local

[7] House size is also related to methods of construction: a large edifice requires more input and resources during construction than a smaller building. While not monumental, the large-sized and well-constructed walls of the Batash houses would have "demanded the coordinated action of a considerable number of people in one construction event [and]…the capacity to mobilize labor beyond the household level" (Nielsen 1995: 63–64).

Table 3. Comparison of house sizes in the LB Shephelah

Site	Building, stratum/ period	Outer dimensions in meters	Source
Tel Batash	Building 475, Stratum VIII	13.7 × 13.1	Mazar 1997
Tel Batash	Building 315, Stratum VII	13.5 × 11.1	Mazar 1997
Tell Beit Mirsim	Stratum C	15.2 × 13.3	Albright 1938: 63–64; Pl. 56
Beth-Shemesh	Herrenhaus, Stratum Iva	15 × 12.5	Daviau 1993: 325, Fig. 61
Tel Harassim	Three-room House, LBIIA	10.5 × 11.5(?)	Givon 1999: 175; Fig. 2[i]
Tel Halif	MBII/LBI transition	16 × 16	Daviau 1993: 393

[i] Givon (1999: 174) suggested that the pillared building that was incompletely uncovered in Areas S at Larchish belongs to this group as well, but this is far from certain due to its partial exposure.

community and its history. Sometimes, the size of the house reflects past wealth and not the present status of the inhabitants (Nielsen 1995: 56; David and Kramer 2001: 296).

Ultimately, using house size as a criterion for estimating wealth or status must be evaluated in comparison to contemporary dwellings at the same site and in the proximate region. When comparing the size of Buildings 475 and 315 at Tel Batash to others, both contemporary and otherwise, Daviau (1993: 319–20) noted that while they were certainly large and imposing, the Tel Batash houses were "well within the size range of typical LB Age houses." Table 3 shows that, indeed, their sizes are not extraordinary and they are comparable to a number of LB houses found in the Shephelah region.[8] Unfortunately, in most cases, excavation data are insufficient to determine whether these houses were exceptional in their towns and represent the homes of the wealthiest and/or highest status family, or whether there were more such dwellings next door. For example, although the plan is quite incoherent, it seems that dense building remains surrounding the

[8] Several houses in MBIIB Tell Beit Mirsim—the South House and North House of Stratum E (Albright 1938: Pl. 50) and the "Patrician House" of Stratum D (ibid.: Pl. 51)—are of similar dimensions to the LBII house.

Herrenhaus of Beth-Shemesh Stratum IVa (plan reprinted in Daviau 1993: 325, Fig. 61) and in the Western Section (ibid.: Fig. 65) might include other such houses. This lack of a comparable data set is also true of Tel Batash, where only one complete (or almost complete) house was excavated in each of the LB strata.

Pottery as a Criterion for Assessing Household Wealth

Additional criteria for assessing household wealth are the number of vessels, and, less so, their quality. Variety is also an issue to consider (Rice 1989: 115; Arnold 1991: 73–76), as is vessel volume (Trostel 1994). Ethnographic analogies are ambivalent (i.e., Graves 1991: 127–128; Longacre 1991) and, in fact, while in some cases a large number of vessels might indicate household wealth, there are alternative explanations for such a situation. A large number of vessels (particularly when crowded into small spaces like in Building 475) could represent "stockpiling" (DeBoer and Lathrap 1979), perhaps during a siege, or in preparation for the impending emergency that resulted in the destruction of the house (Geva 1989: 6–7; Schiffer 1996: 281). Other possible reasons for very large quantities of vessels in houses include surplus for taxes and tribute, gift-giving customs, feasting paraphernalia, dowry accumulation, and ritual requirements, among others (DeBoer and Lathrop 1979; Rice 1987: 295; Arnold 1991; Kramer 1997: 35–36; Deal 1998). It has also been suggested that such concentrations of vessels might indicate a potting household (Daviau 1993: 41, 46–47). Stockpiling can also be the result of differential access to vessel sources, or varying distance to markets and available cash to purchase vessels. A large number of serving vessels and very large cooking pots might point to social obligations, such as festivals or rituals that require a large number of vessels, or to duties that the household head is expected to perform, such as hosting feasts or political rallies to enhance social and political status, as well as feeding seasonal workers. Other things to consider include the relationship to other household activities, such as dairy or oil production, as part of the general household subsistence strategy; food-processing technologies; vessel use-life or longevity and breakage rates; how multifunctional the vessels are; the presence of nonceramic vessels, and "dead storage" of broken vessels for future secondary use (Nicklin 1971; Kramer 1979; DeBoer and Lathrap 1979: 123–124; Miller 1985; Rice 1987: 295; Kamp 1987; Geva

1989; Arnold 1991: 61–72; Graves 1991: 129; Nelson 1991; Tani 1994: 56–57; Deal 1998; Potter 2000).[9]

The age/gender composition of the household also plays a role in the quantity of vessels in a house at any given time. For example, in some ethnoarchaeological studies, the number of married women in a household was found to be a significant factor influencing vessel quantity (i.e., Kamp 1987) and the presence of many children can affect both the amount and size range of vessels, as well as the breakage rate (Schiffer 1996).

Ethnographic pottery counts made in various pottery-producing village societies in Peru, Mexico, Guatemala, the Philippines, and Cameroon (i.e., Rice 1987: 296–297; Arnold 1991: 66; Nelson 1991: 167; Sinopoli 1991: 88; Deal 1998; David and Kramer 2001: 100) have, for the most part, failed to identify a significant correlation between household wealth and vessel quantity (although there is such a correlation between vessel quantity and household size—see further below). In fact, the results of these counts are extremely disparate, ranging from as little as eight to as many as eighty-five vessels; most of these amounts are considerably lower than the Batash assemblages. Thus, it is difficult to assess whether the large number of vessels in both houses at Tel Batash, particularly in Building 475, indicates wealth and/or any of the many factors just mentioned.

Vessel quality, too, is an equivocal index of wealth. As noted above, most of the vessels in both houses were quite plain and utilitarian, with only the imports, which reached no more than *ca.* 12% of the entire household repertory in each house, providing a finer ware. Even the somewhat more elaborate local vessels, such as goblets, painted storage jars and biconical jugs, seem to have been quotidian household vessels and not luxury wares. Some evidence for vessel repair and secondary-use/recycling was found in both houses, although somewhat more so in the Stratum VII Building 315. Two factors, however, should be considered when attempting to evaluate the role of vessel quality as a reflection of household wealth: the general quality of LB ceramics,

[9] Very little ethnographic or ancient textual and archaeological evidence exists to indicate that domestic pottery vessels were required for taxes or tribute; see, for example, Linné 1965: 26–27, where lists of the Aztec state archives included special pottery vessels for chocolate drinking. Generally, it seems that if pottery was used as tribute, it was mostly prestige vessels that would be in demand for their contents (i.e., Cochavi-Rainey 1999; Earle 2002: 197).

which on the whole is a rather utilitarian grade, and the fact that a vessel's worth can not necessarily be measured by contemporary aesthetic principles; what may seem to us to be quite plain and even careless could have been valued for different contextual and symbolic reasons (Hodder 1991; Senior 1995; Meadows 1997: 24). Furthermore, secondary use and recycling are not necessarily the outcome of poverty, but rather can be "an adaptive economic strategy" (Deal and Hagstrum 1995: 112) or simply the way things are done in households of all levels. Thus, it is hard to say if the quality and kinds of vessels found in these houses are merely utilitarian and mundane, or if they reflect some level of affluence as it was contextualized at that time.

Discussion

In light of the above, it is clearly a complex matter to use the pottery assemblage and house size to conclude definitively that wealthy families of high status lived in patrician houses.[10] It seems that, while none of the parameters discussed above are an unassailable indication of wealth in and of themselves, when taken together a picture emerges at Tel Batash of people of ample means who were able to fill all of their daily household needs while also possibly accumulating surplus, and who possessed the capability to maintain a household of such vitality that it could be immediately renovated after suffering a destruction.

The question may be asked as to whether this was the norm or whether a particularly privileged or wealthy family lived in these houses. As noted above, a crucial piece of information is missing at Tel Batash: were there other similar-sized houses in the town and were their contents similar? Comparison with other sites shows that such domiciles were not out of the ordinary in the Shephelah region. If indeed this is the case, this phenomenon should be examined in light of the socioeconomic and political conditions of these towns under

[10] While the present discussion focuses on the role of pottery in the assessment of household wealth and status, certainly other objects must be considered, and in fact, these items might be the prime indicators of wealth and status in light of the multifarious uses and lifecycle of pottery. Indeed, the large number of small luxury items and special imports in Stratum VII Building 315 seem to reflect this wealth, although, as stated, the lack of such items in the previous house may be due to looting or their deliberate removal by the residents.

Egyptian hegemony, particularly in Stratum VII, the Amarna period. How do such houses and the apparently comfortable means of their inhabitants fit into the pattern of social hierarchy (*hazannu, maryannu*, landlords, elders, merchants, artisans, peasants; see Heltzer 1976) of the Canaanite city-state system of the time? How can we understand what appears to be a well-supplied household with the ambivalent duality of poverty and riches that characterizes much of the Late Bronze Age? Scholars have deliberated as to the meaning of this apparent disparity between certain aspects of the LB material culture, which demonstrate great wealth and artistic ability, and others that show decline (see, for example, Ahituv 1981; Na'aman 1981; Knapp 1989; Leibowitz 1987, 1989; Bienkowski 1989; Bunimovitz 1994: 9–10).

Can it be assumed that the inhabitants of such houses were more vulnerable to the vagaries of Egyptian administrative policies, particularly property confiscation, taxes, and mobilization? Or were they in fact the local agents of the Egyptian administration who enjoyed attendant privileges? Can we suggest a special function or social position for those households whose outer walls were also the town's defense line (i.e., Nielsen 1995: 58) and did this higher status express itself in greater wealth or additional social or political obligations, such as tax collecting, judicial tasks, or cultic responsibilities? Did the fact that a private wing of the Stratum VIII house was turned into public domain (a street) in Stratum VII mean a concurrent change in the social and economic status of this household? Did such status affect the quantity and quality of ceramics in the house, and did any change in this status accordingly express itself in the pottery? The well-built house and abundant household pottery, as well as other items, seem to indicate the existence of what we might today term an "upper-middle class," able to navigate the often hazardous economic, social, and political waters of the Canaanite city-state system under Egyptian jurisdiction during New Kingdom reign. It is interesting that, following the destruction of the Stratum VII house of the Amarna period, no new dwelling was erected on this spot, terminating the sequence that began in LBIA. This might be related to the inception of the Egyptian Nineteenth Dynasty and a tightened control of Canaan (Weinstein 1981: 17–22), as opposed to the assumed lesser intervention of the Egyptians during the Amarna interlude.

Household Population Continuity and Change—All in the Family

Another question that emerges from the data presented above—both the material culture and the architectural plans—pertains to the degree of population continuity between the two houses. Did the descendants of the same family continue to inhabit this house, despite the severe destruction and concurrent architectural changes, or did new occupants move in? Were there differences in status, wealth, and/or composition of the households?

Comparison of the proportion of vessel classes between the two buildings, as well as the degree of typological variety (Tables 1 and 2 above), shows an overall similarity; this might be the result of family continuity, although it could also simply be due to their both being domiciles, regardless of the inhabitants' age, gender, wealth, or status. It was noted in most vessel classes (i.e., cooking pots, jugs, imports) that, although the absolute number of vessels declines in Stratum VII, the percentage of the class in the entire assemblage remains similar, implying a continuity of function of the basic household routine.[11] For example, the 25 jugs found in Stratum VIII constituted 14% of the assemblage, while half that amount—13 jugs in Stratum VII—constituted 13% of that house's assemblage. One change that did occur in vessel proportions was the kraters, which increased in Building 315 (6%) as opposed to Building 475 (2%). Assuming that kraters were used in food preparation, this might be related to different culinary practices between the two households.[12] Another vessel class whose proportions changed was the storage jars: 23% in Building 475 declined to 15% in Building 315; this affected the storage capacity of each house, which decreased from 964 liters in Building 475 to only

[11] An analysis of similar data used to estimate duration of occupation at archaeological sites (based on ethnographic data) suggests that such stabilization in vessel class proportions will take place only at a site that is occupied for more than ten years, "whether for 20 or 100 years…long occupied sites should display high variety in the number of different classes and relatively stable proportions of each class" (Mills 1999: 142–143).

[12] It has been suggested that households with a higher ratio of serving vessels to food preparation vessels are usually of elite status (Turkon 2004: 227). Could the plethora of bowls and biconical vessels, as opposed to the small number of kraters, be considered such an index in both our houses?

229 liters in Building 315 (Panitz-Cohen 2006a: 182, 190).[13] Significant differences in proportions of vessel types between Arad and ʿAi in EBII were understood to reflect not only different ecologies, but also cultural distinctions (Ilan 2001: 350). If indeed this is so, we may perhaps assume the opposite: that the similar proportions of most vessel types in both our houses imply cultural homogeneity and continuity.

Another element that may be considered when investigating continuity between the houses is household size. Although there are various indices for estimating population size, one proposed by Naroll (1962) and used here allots 10 m^2 of floor area per person, which would yield eight people (adults?) in Stratum VIII and ten in Stratum VII (based on net floor space, see Table 1). If we assume a second story that covered part of or the entire lower floor, then this figure could potentially be doubled.[14] Ethnographic examples are ambivalent as to whether or not there is a correlation between vessel quantity and household size (Longacre 1991: 109; Nelson 1991: 169–170). If indeed the above population estimate is valid, we have a situation in which there are many more vessels in the smaller, Stratum VIII household than in the larger, Stratum VII one, although the difference in the estimated number of inhabitants between the two houses is not that large. Based on the argument and data presented above concerning indices of household wealth, we can thus assume that it is not necessarily a decrease in wealth that is reflected in this discrepancy (i.e., more people in Stratum VII using fewer vessels), especially in light of the large amount of unique, and high status objects in the house, but rather a change in internal household composition and status. This implies that consumption needs changed in Stratum VII, possibly due to an internal change in household composition (gender, age, status)[15] or to external conditions that impacted social roles and economic and political status.

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[13] These measurements are based on the extant restored jars so that they represent a minimum capacity; not only could there be other ceramic jars that were used for storage, but other nonceramic containers were most likely used as well.

[14] However, some ethnographic cases indicate that in dwellings with more than one story, the second story is not relevant for calculating population size (Kramer 1979: 159).

[15] It can also be speculated if the relatively good curation and low breakage of the delicate Cypriot and Mycenaean imported closed vessels in Building 315, as opposed to their more fragmentary recovery in Building 475 (Steel 2006), is the result of fewer children and animals in this household (Schiffer 1996).

Household composition is affected by the existence of nuclear family units that could have coexisted within extended households, both on a temporal and spatial basis. Schloen (2001: 135–136) contended that while the basic unit occupying the houses in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages in the ancient Near East was indeed the extended family or the "patriarchal joint household," this unit was not monolithic and was affected by numerous factors in the "household life cycle" (i.e., mortality and fertility rates, marriage patterns, servants, industry, etc.), that in turn affected the space requirements and size of the household as well as its pottery repertoire. As noted above, it is possible that during the course of its existence, the Stratum VIII household was that of an extended family comprising a number of nuclear family units, while the Stratum VII household, which contained only one large space, did not have such units.[16] The possibility of multiple nuclear families living together in the Stratum VIII building might also explain the larger number of vessels in Stratum VIII, wherein each smaller family unit might have required a "set" of its own and communal eating was somewhat less common. Could the relatively larger number of kraters and large-sized bowls in Stratum VII be related to an increase in communal dining by the inhabitants?

Another possible explanation for the differences between the ceramic assemblages of the two houses is a change in the social role or political status of the inhabitants. Mills (1999) points out that wealth and status are not automatically interrelated in some societies and it is possible that the status or socioeconomic role of the Stratum VII household head differed from that of his predecessor, regardless of wealth. Along these lines, the disappearance of very large cooking pots in Stratum VII that might have been used for feasting in Stratum VIII should be noted (Panitz-Cohen 2006a: 191–192). Ethnographic data show that landowners and/or political or religious functionaries have a series of social, political, and economic obligations that go with this status (i.e., Graves 1991; Deal 1998; Potter 2000; Turkon 2004: 226); such obligations often include the hosting of feasts (Mills 1999). Sometimes, these obligations can be co-opted from local elites in order to invest more

[16] However, since we do not know if the assumed upper story in Building 315 contained individual living rooms, we cannot definitely suggest a change from extended to nuclear family between the two houses.

power in centralized authority (Earle 2002: 244). Could this lack imply that hosting feasts (intra- or suprahousehold) was no longer a part of the Stratum VII household's social requirements?[17] Possibly, the difference in vessel amount and storage jar capacity reflects this change in social position or status, which might have been the result of macroeconomic conditions possibly related to changes in land appropriations and/or tax obligations. These changes might have been related, as noted above, to the nature of the Egyptian reign during the Amarna period, our Stratum VII.

Thus, while the same family or kinship group most likely occupied both houses in Strata VIII and VII, changing internal (familial) and external (social, political, and economic) conditions impacted the house plan and size, as well as the nature and size of the household ceramic inventory. This proposed continuity is most likely the result of a kinship relationship that remained among the houses' occupants, as well as the cultural continuity that characterized the LB Canaanite material culture in general. The changes that did take place could have been the result of external conditions, such as new technology (alternate storage practices, changes in craft production, etc.), economy, and politics (shift in status or role of the household in the larger community, change in administrative control by external factors such as Egyptian governors, easier access to consumer goods such as imports, change in taxes, and land confiscation policies leading to alternative subsistence strategies, etc.), or stylistic influence (regional or foreign architectural styles). The smaller outer dimensions of the house in Stratum VII might be related to increased occupational density in the town on the whole that required the demolishing of the western wing and turning it from private property into a public street; such alterations are a concern in towns located on space-limited *tells* (Steadman 2000: 165; Ilan 2001: 323).

[17] An example from the time of the Inca takeover of the Mantaro Valley shows that decorated storage jars and serving bowls were considered evidence of the importance of ceremonial feasting in expressing and maintaining elite status in the Wanka II occupation, but following the takeover of the Inca in Wanka III, these vessels disappeared from elite houses. At this time, all surplus was commandeered by the Inca rulers and while the local elite did not entirely lose their status as feast givers, their position now depended on the economic and ideological support of the Inca rulers. This was expressed through new high status vessels made in the Inca imperial style that were doled out to the local elites (Sinopoli 1991: 158; Costin 1996).

Influence from contemporary architectural styles cannot be ruled out as an explanation for the change in plan, such as the *Herrenhaus* at Beth-Shemesh, the pillared house at Tel Harassim, and the houses at Tell Beit Mirsim (Table 3). Do such similarities imply shared regional kinship relations, or was there perhaps an itinerant builders' guild responsible for the erection of such houses for families of some means in the Shephelah?

Chesson (2003) discusses the role that the physical house structure (as well as its material contents) plays in establishing and maintaining family status and authority within the town. The very link to ancestors and the ancestral household is a source of status and authority and was a desirable asset to be upheld; this had economic implications for the family as well (ibid.: 83–84). Thus, the rebuilding of the house on the same spot, although with changes in certain aspects of the plan, might, on the one hand, reflect maintenance and legitimization of the family status and identity, while on the other hand, change aspects and relationships within the family itself (ibid.: 91), as well as its relationship to external social, economic, and political organization and demands. Nielsen (1995: 55) emphasized the social and symbolic message inherent in the choice of building material and the architectural plan. Another factor to consider is that house ownership was often part of existing kinship relationships and it would have been near impossible for an outsider seeking to live in the town to obtain property or a house (Schloen 2001: 328; Kramer 1979; although, see Heltzer 1976: 84). Taken together with the relative homogeneity of the ceramic tradition during this period (the late fifteenth–fourteenth centuries BCE), it seems reasonable to assume that the houses remained "all in the family" and that while the overall wealth of this family did not change, there were shifts in the social and political positions they held, possibly relating to the changes in the nature of Egyptian rule at this time.

Summary

Even when dealing with a well-preserved, comprehensive data set such as the ceramic assemblages found in the Tel Batash houses, using pottery to assess household wealth, status, and composition is a complex matter and no direct or simple correlation can be assumed between quantity and quality of vessels and social and economic conditions.

> Because households may have a variety of economic pursuits and social personnel, the concept of status, as often applied, should consider that status is not a set rank, but is susceptible to contextual variation. A more realistic concept of wealth should distinguish social groups by the activities in which they are involved, rather than linking them by access to wealth and prestige items. (Turkon 2004: 245)

Household pottery as a material correlate of these activities can thus reflect social and economic conditions when analyzed on the dynamic level of the constant negotiation of status, both within the house and without.

DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN PUBLIC AND RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS: A CASE STUDY FROM LATE BRONZE AGE II TELL EṢ-ṢAFI/GATH

Itzhaq Shai, Aren M. Maeir, Yuval Gadot and Joe Uziel

Introduction

The excavations at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, Israel (Maeir 2003; 2008; Fig. 1 herein) have uncovered, *inter alia*, assorted evidence dating to the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 BCE) from various parts of the site. The site, which is identified as Canaanite Gath, is one of the more important Canaanite city-states during the Late Bronze Age as attested in the Egyptian documents dating to the period (Uziel and Maeir 2005: 57–58 and further literature there). During the 2000–2006 seasons, a large building (Building 66323) dating to the LBIIB was excavated in Area E (Shai et al. forthcoming) on the eastern slopes of the tell (Fig. 2). Approximately 240 m^2 of the eastern side of this building were excavated; this is but a portion of the original structure, however, as it clearly continues to the west (under the eastern side of Area A) where it is buried below later accumulations that have not yet been fully excavated (Fig. 3).

The size of the building and its ground plan raise many questions as to its function: was it a private dwelling or a public building? If public, what was its function (e.g., palace, storeroom, temple, etc.)? If it was a residential structure, can its size and finds attest to the social and/or economic status of its residents? Is such a differentiation (between public and private) even justified? Can the identification of the character and function of Building 66323 contribute to our understanding of the urban nature of the city of Gath in particular and of the LB urban centers in Canaan in general? This paper attempts to identify the function of Building 66323, and, in turn, addresses the issue of the identification of structures as public or private.

In order to undertake this difficult task we shall first review briefly some of the literature relating to the definition of buildings as private or public, in order to establish a list of features that might be expected in a public structure. We will then analyze the ground plan of Building 66323 and the artifacts found in connection to it, and compare Building 66323 with other structures from LB Canaan.

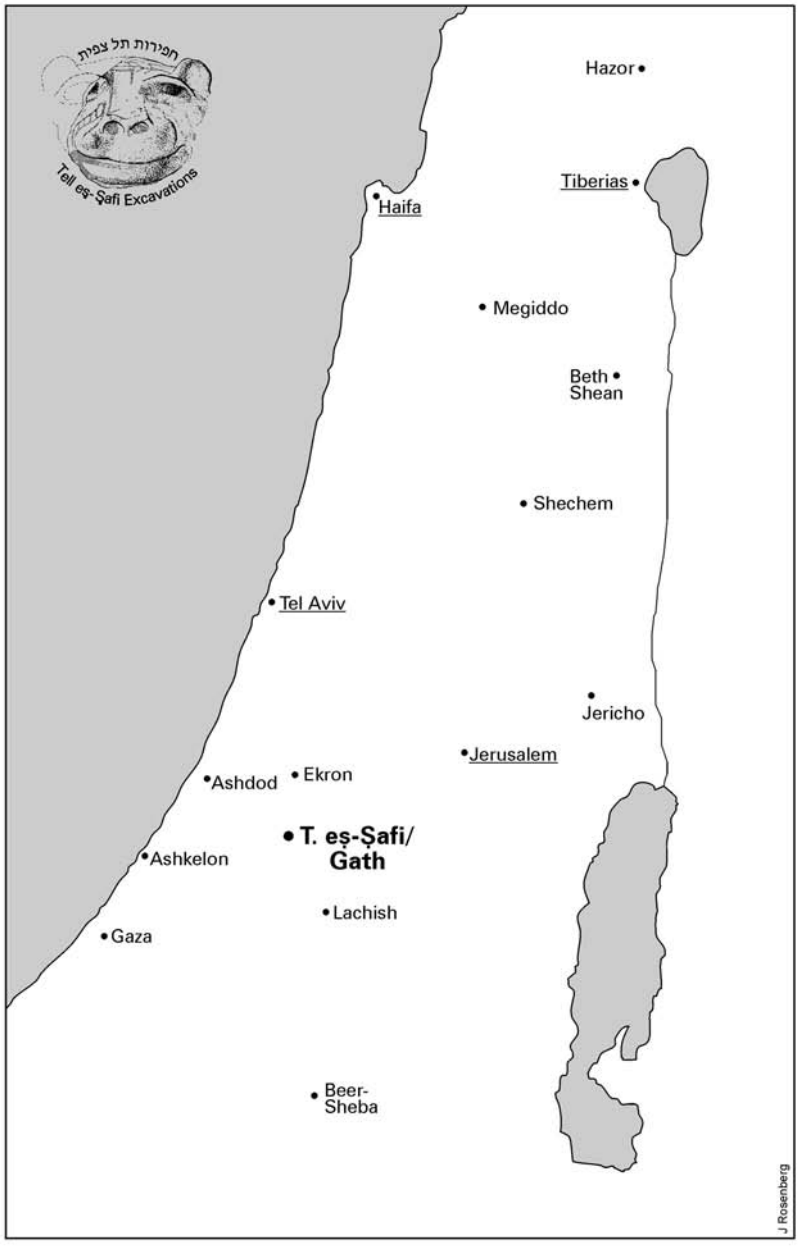


Figure 1. Location of Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath.

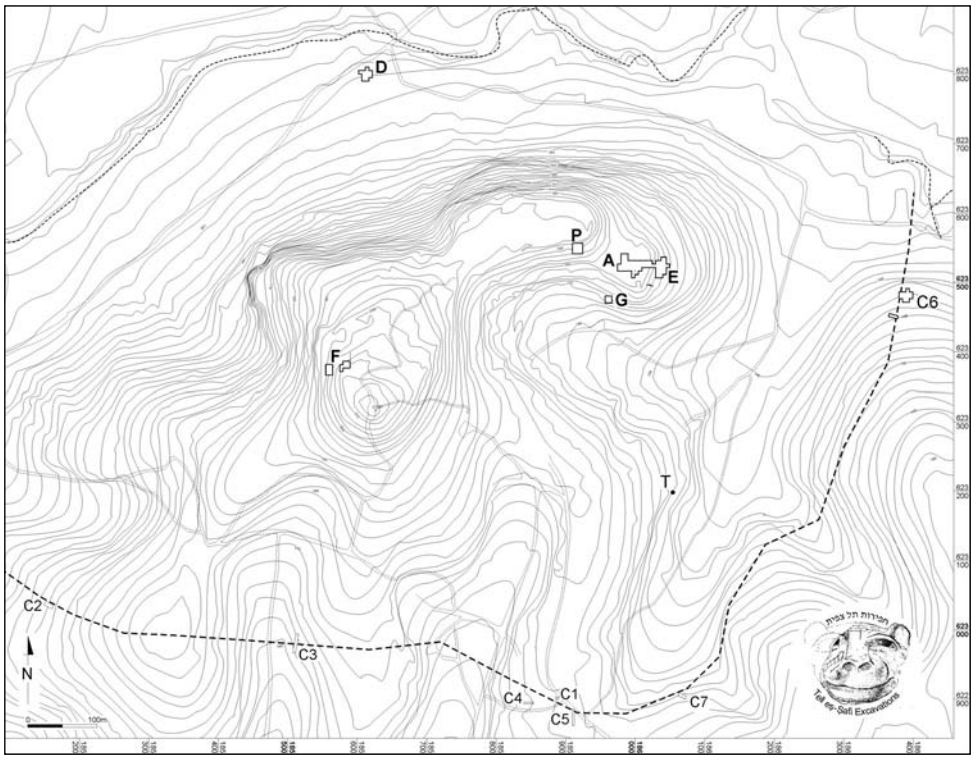


Figure 2. General plan of Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath and location of Area E.

Theoretical Background

Archaeologists are often bewildered by the problem of defining the nature of architectural units. It comes as no surprise that most of the literature that deals with functional definitions of architecture focuses on the more clear cut and extreme cases, such as palaces (Trigger 1990; Moore 1996) and temples on the one hand[1] and simple dwellings (Wright 1985: 289–293; Daviau 1993; Foucault-Forest 1996; King and Stager 2001: Chapter 2) on the other.[2]

[1] Although, note that even with monumental buildings, the identification is not always clear cut—see, for example, the ongoing debate over the monumental LB structure at Hazor; see Ben-Tor and Zuckerman 2008: 1 and references there.

[2] For methodological guidelines and a sophisticated attempt to utilize diverse archaeological and historical sources to identify house function and type in the Roman world, see Allison 1999a: 2–6; 2001; for a typological and functional analysis of houses in Roman Palestine, see Richardson 2004.

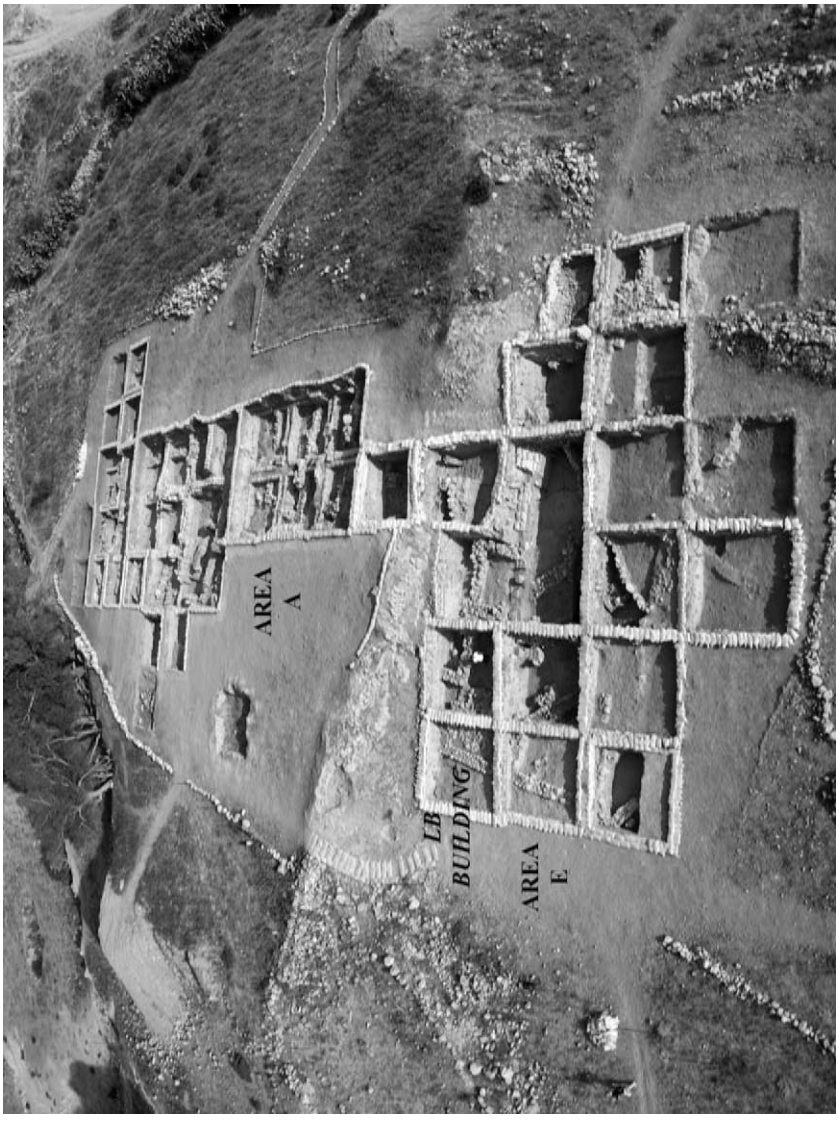


Figure 3. Aerial view, looking west, of Areas A and E at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath. Note LB Building 66323 and its continuation under the Iron Age strata in Area A.

Building types between these two extremes are harder to define, and are therefore many times avoided. Terms such as "Patrician houses" or "Elite Houses" (Albright 1938; Wright 1985: 274; Oren 1992: 115; Ben-Dov 1992) are often used, but in most cases, these definitions, even if correct, are made on intuitive grounds. Likewise, as has been pointed out in the past, intuitive classifications of "elite" versus "non-elite" architecture are often based on questionable criteria. Thus, for example, studies of the scale, prominence and energy expenditure in architectural elements usually assume that a direct correlation can be made between large-scale/prominence/energy and elite parts of society (e.g., Mazar 1990: 246–247; Oren 1992: 115; Bunimovitz 1995: Fig. 4). Wason (1994: 136–145) and others have shown, that this is not always the case (see as well, e.g., Kramer 1979; Horne 1994: 160; Aurenche 1996; Verhoeven 1999: 24; Panitz-Cohen 2006a: 190–191). Faust (1999a), for example, has suggested that the different sizes of domestic houses in urban and rural contexts in the Iron Age Southern Levant, where houses are smaller in towns and larger in rural settings, is related to family size and not socioeconomic status. As a result, it is not sufficient to define function according to size of the structure, but the classification and evaluation of built environments should relate to two complementary aspects: the architectural character (i.e., size, quality of building, etc.) and layout of the building, and the human activities that took place in the building and in its immediate surroundings.

The first aspect that we will discuss is the architectural layout of the building. In order to compare the archaeological evidence from different sites and present general definitions that can include sufficiently large sets of examples, we shall first draw up a set of parameters. We shall address matters such as the size of the building, energy expenditure in its construction, the syntax of the building floor plan, and finally, the location of the building within the city. Although the parameters presented here may have cross-cultural value, their use here is in relation to other buildings in LB Canaan. For example, energy expenditure is reflected in the size of the building, but determining whether a building is large or small can only be achieved by comparing it to other contemporary buildings from the same cultural milieu, taking into account more than just the relative size of the architectural features, but other parameters of prosperity as well (for example, finds within the building, architectural quality; see, e.g., David and Kramer 2001: 294–296).

The second aspect we will discuss is the human behavior that can shed light on the function of a built space. The tendency to offer a monolithic definition for building or room function is a reflection of our own modern approach to space (see Parker Pearson and Richards 1994a for an analysis of the concept of space in contemporary England). The "specialization" of space has been shown to be typical of a specialized society (e.g., Rapoport 1982; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b: 63–64; Portugali 1999: 49–52), with spatial segmentation reflecting social complexity (Kent 1990b). Banning and Byrd (1989; see also Byrd 1994) have convincingly argued that the birth of the more complex and specialized societies of the Neolithic period is partially reflected in the division of built space into subunits. However, in ancient and traditional societies, buildings, rooms, and courts functioned in a variety of activities, and a simplistic division into domestic, industrial, cult, etc. does not always reflect reality (see, e.g., Janes 1983: 105–109; Horne 1994: 176–184; David and Kramer 2001: 296). Multifunctional use of defined spaces has been noted in archaeological case studies, such as in a courtyard house at Megiddo, where the inner rooms of the house served primarily as living quarters, but also had evidence for food preparation and weaving activities, while the open spaces around the house were used for activities associated with domestic economy (i.e., household production; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006; for a slightly different interpretation of the various functions in and around this house, see now Shahack-Gross et al. in press).

In the present analysis we shall relate to the question of the function of the different rooms and the building as a whole. Our goal is to identify the variety of activities that took place in the building and avoid defining the building vis-à-vis one functional title. Combined with the architectural analysis mentioned above, we will attempt to define a comprehensive image of the building's nature and function, based on a close analysis of the finds from the building that hint to the various activities that were carried out within.

Building 66323: Architecture (Fig. 4 and 5)

As mentioned above, Building 66323 is a large building (at least 20 m × 12 m) dating to the LBIIB (Stratum E4b; ca. late thirteenth century BCE). For the most part, only the stone foundations of the walls have

been uncovered. However, traces of brick walls were also identified, as well as brick collapse, which points to an original mudbrick superstructure above the stone foundation. Some of the walls, particularly the outer walls, were made entirely of stone, as attested by the remains of some walls still standing to a height of over 1 meter. The emerging pattern seems to suggest that the outer walls were made of stone while the inner walls had had a mudbrick superstructure.

Two subphases were identified in this building. In its original plan, the building was composed of a central courtyard (66009) covering approximately 80 m^2 with a line of at least six pillar bases. On the western side was a plastered floor (84404). A *tabun* (49022) was found along the courtyard's southern wall on a beaten-earth floor (66009); around the *tabun* was a stone hearth (66013).

The threshold (84006), which was constructed of fieldstones, probably served as the entrance to the courtyard from the west, where Room 84011 is located. Only a small part of this room was uncovered; it seems that it continues to the west. A comparison with Building 475 at Tel Batash Stratum VIII (Mazar 1997b: 52, Fig. 1.5) suggests that this was the main entrance to the building, and this room should be reconstructed as a narrow corridor.

Room 66325 is a small (3.5 m × 2 m), paved room located south of the courtyard. It seems that this room could only have been entered from the courtyard through its northern wall. Another room, Room 66308, is located south of the main entrance to the courtyard. An installation (84007) made of small fieldstones was discovered in the southeast corner of this room; its function is unclear. A dagger was found at the base of the northern wall (W56018) of this room. Room 66308 was also only partially excavated, and it seems that it also continued to the west. Most of the area that was exposed included the installation, while the northern portion of the room was used for access to the installation.

In the second phase of the building, Wall 84404 was constructed, dividing the large courtyard into two spaces: Room 68023 and Courtyard 66009 (Figs. 4, 5). Room 68023 (6.5 m × 3 m) was divided into two spaces by a row of three pillar bases, reusing pillars from the previous phase. It seems significant to note that, when these architectural changes were made, a lamp and bowl deposit (see more below on the foundation deposits) was placed adjacent to the new wall. A complete storage jar (844029) was also sunk into the floor next to the pillar bases.

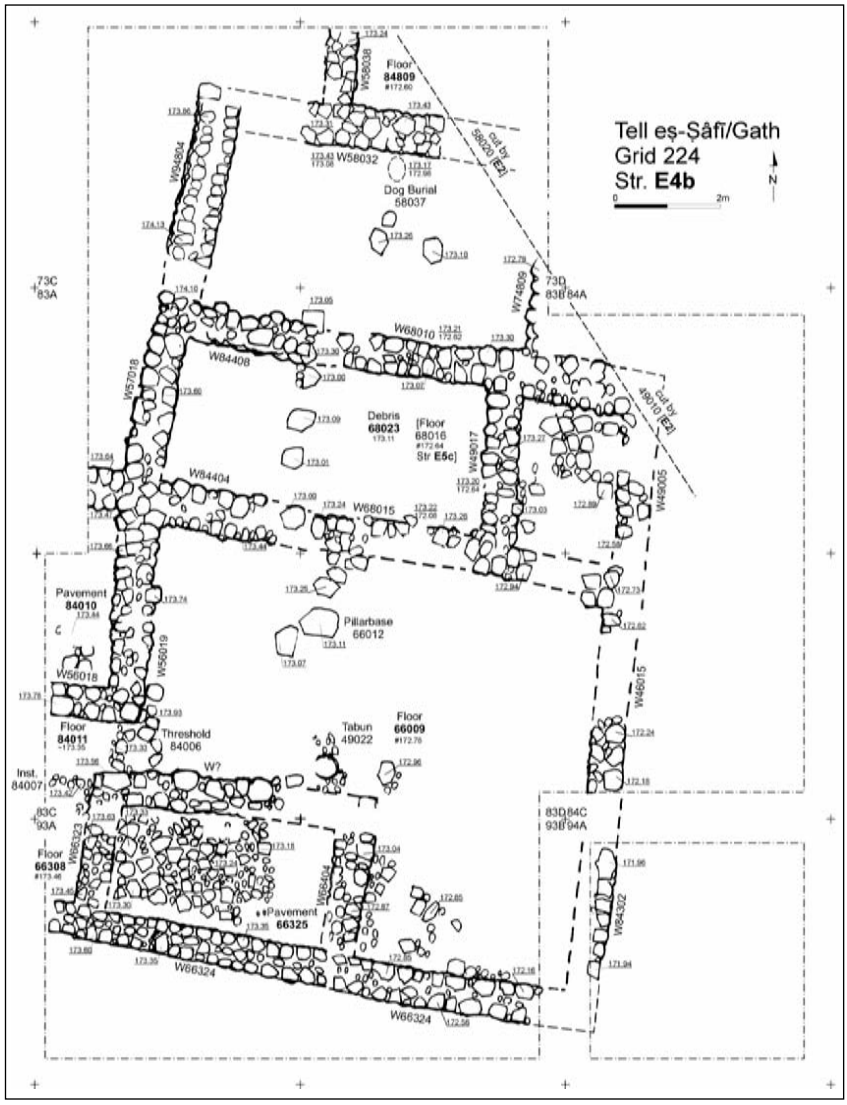


Figure 4. Plan of Building 66323.

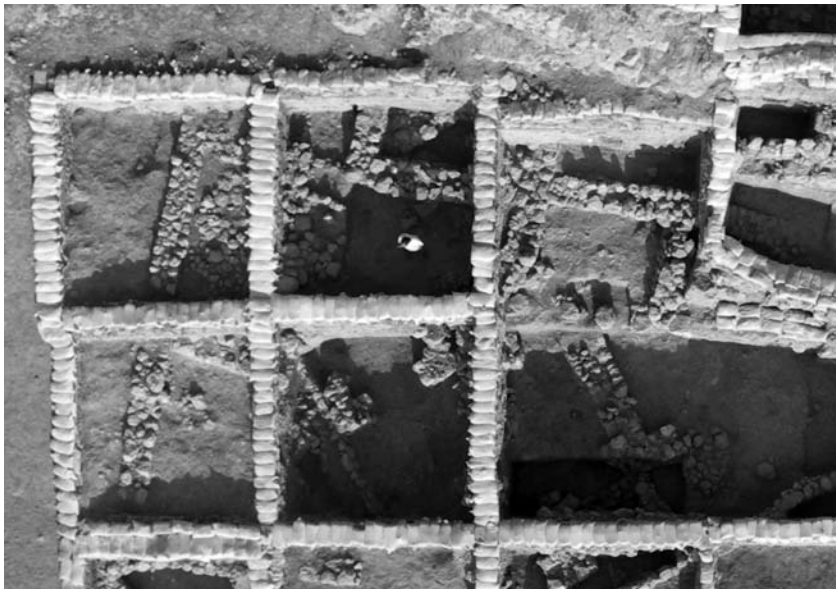


Figure 5. Aerial view (north to right of picture) of Building 66323.

Before dealing with the function of the building, we should emphasize that the two subphases of the building plan were identified based solely on architectural and stratigraphic analysis. There were no finds that could help determine the dating of these two subphases. The pottery from Stratum E4b suggests that this building was used over a long period of time (Figs. 6–8); it seems that the building was in use throughout the thirteenth century BCE. This is indicated by the presence of pottery types typical of the early thirteenth century BCE, such as bowls with vestigial carination, ledge-rim bowls, plain-rim bowls with sides curved halfway up the body, bichrome decoration, and gutter-rim jars, alongside pottery that would better fit a late thirteenth-century-BCE context (bowls with an inner-thickened everted rim, cyma-shaped bowls, cup-and-saucer vessels, and button-shaped bases on jars (for a complete discussion, see Gadot et al. forthcoming).

One of the most interesting aspects of Building 66323 is the numerous foundation deposits that were uncovered in the context of the building. Most of these deposits are typical lamp-and-bowl deposits that are well known in LB Canaan (e.g., Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993: 2004). While these are found in various contexts (see Gadot and Tepper forthcoming, for their appearance even in funerary contexts),

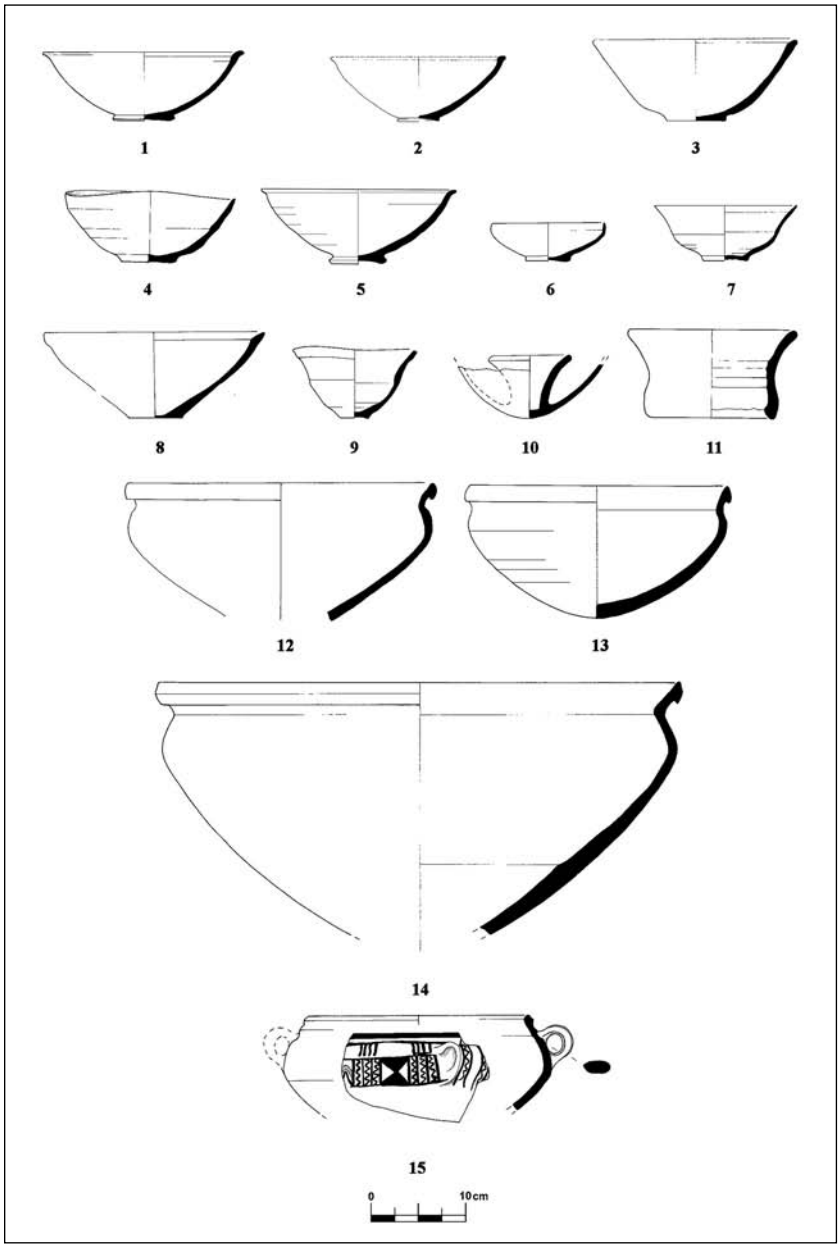


Figure 6. Pottery from Building 66323.

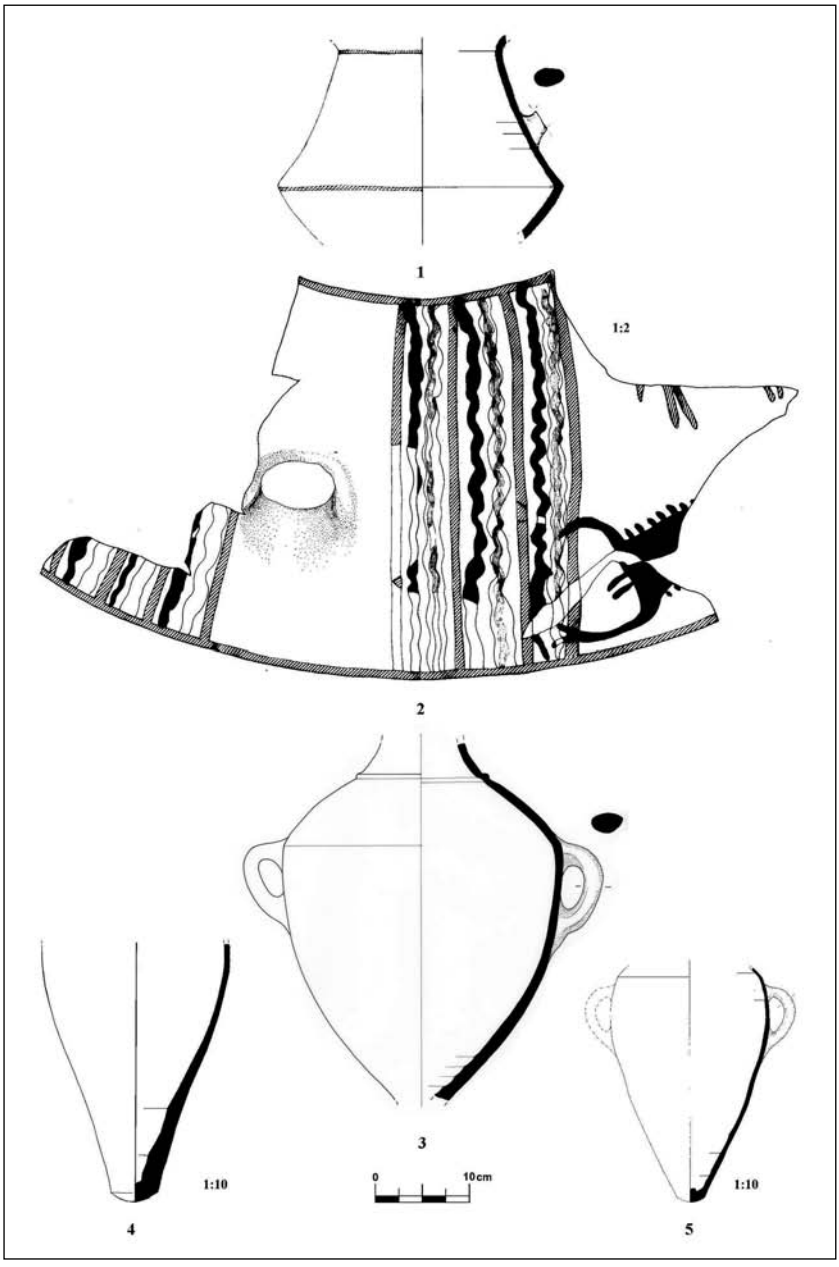


Figure 7. Pottery from Building 66323.

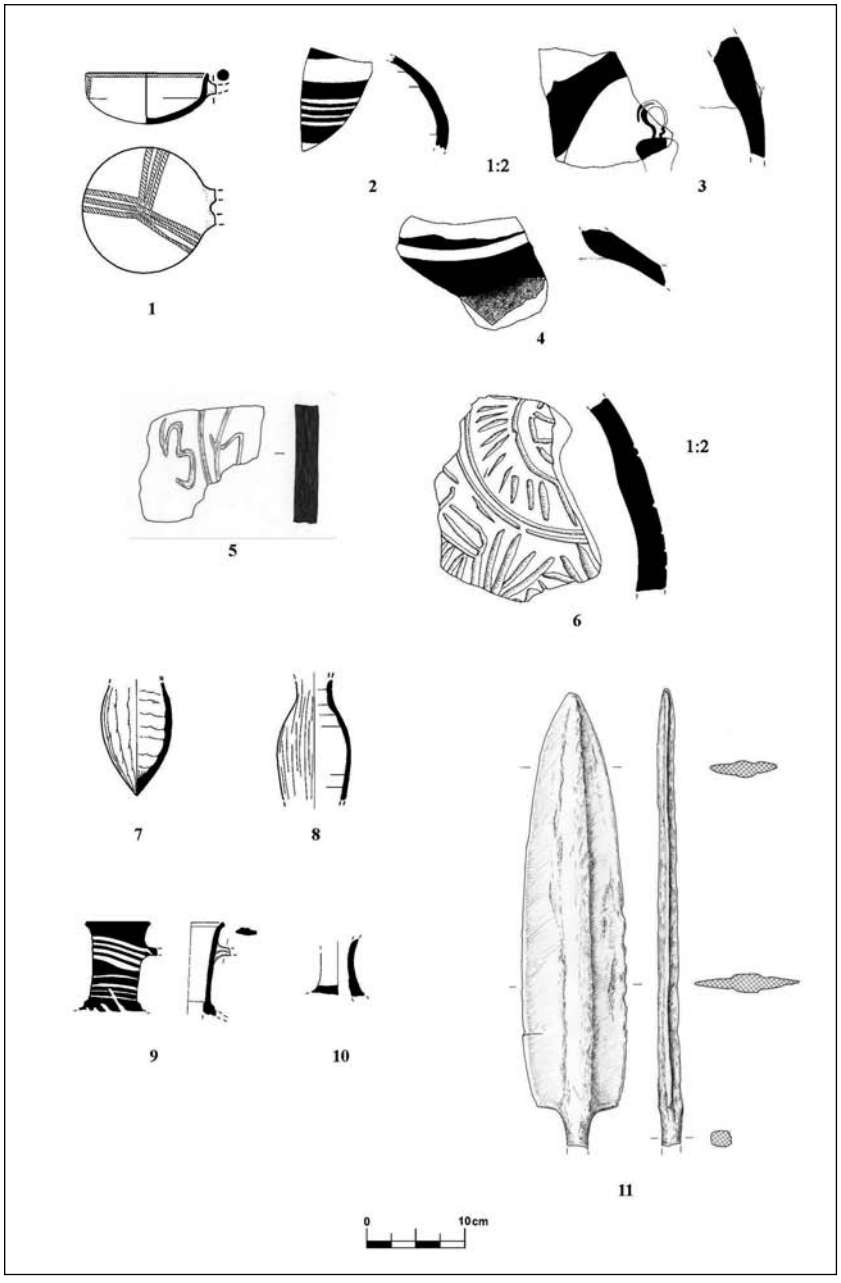


Figure 8. Imported wares, Hieratic inscription, unique pottery sherds, and bronze dagger from Building 66323.

their presence in Building 66323 needs to be addressed, as they were found in almost every room (Figs. 9–10). This is certainly not the case in other domestic structures where such deposits were found; usually only a single deposit was discovered in each structure (e.g., Lachish, Gezer, Beth-Shemesh, Tell Miqne/Ekron; see Bunimovitz and Zimhoni 1993: 2004). Other deposits that are unique to this building include a bovine skull, which was placed under a plaster floor on the western side of the courtyard (84026; Fig. 10),[3] and the deposit of a MB dagger in Room 84011 (Fig. 8: 11). In addition, a dog burial was placed under the floor in Room 58036. Finally, under the western wall of the courtyard, a donkey jaw was placed as an additional deposit. These are certainly not the norm, and seem to indicate that this building had a special significance.

Comparing Building 66323 to other Late Bronze Age Architecture

In Table 1, we compare the architectural layout of Building 66323 at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath with other houses, specifically the "patrician houses" and "governors' residences" from LB and Iron Age contexts in the Southern Levant that seemed comparable in some way (e.g., size, building quality, plan of structure) to Building 66323.

Size of building: The data in Table 1 indicate that Building 66323 at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, which is at least 240 m^2 in area, is comparable to other contemporaneous structures defined as "patrician houses" and slightly smaller than "governors' residences." It is larger than the average urban domestic building, such as the courtyard houses at Ashdod. It is also larger than the pillared house found at the nearby rural settlement at Tel Harassim (see Table 1).[4]

Energy expenditure: The construction methods used in the building do not indicate any unique expenditure of energy or extraordinary use of building techniques and materials. The width of the walls is quite

[3] Bovine skull deposits are known from cultic contexts in Cyprus, such as at Late Cypriot Enkomi, Kition, and Myrtou-*Pigadhes*. See, e.g., Karageorghis 1974: 2002: 100.

[4] It is difficult to determine how much of the building uncovered thus far was roofed and how much was open space. For example, Stone Pavement 66325 may suggest an unroofed area; however, nothing in this room—including its size—would support such a theory. The size of Room 66009 does seem to be quite large, and therefore may have been an open courtyard of about 60 m^2, leaving ¾ of the building for roofed areas.

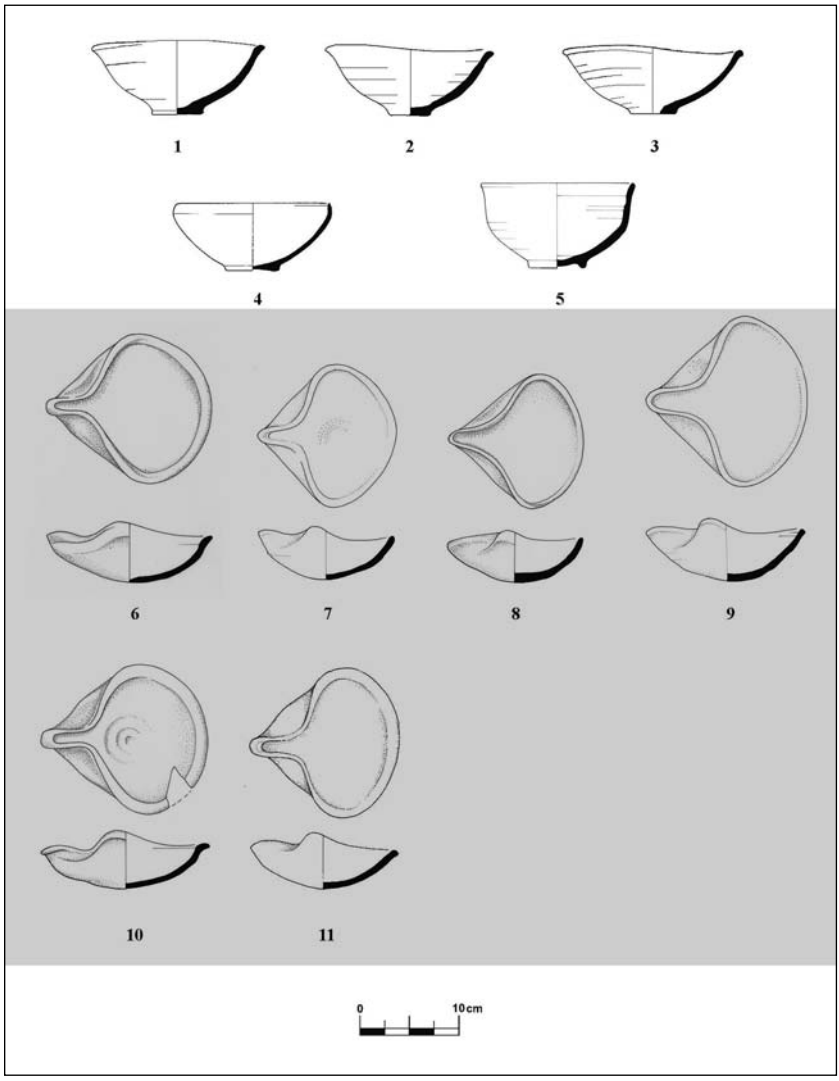


Figure 9. Lamp and bowl deposits from Building 66323.

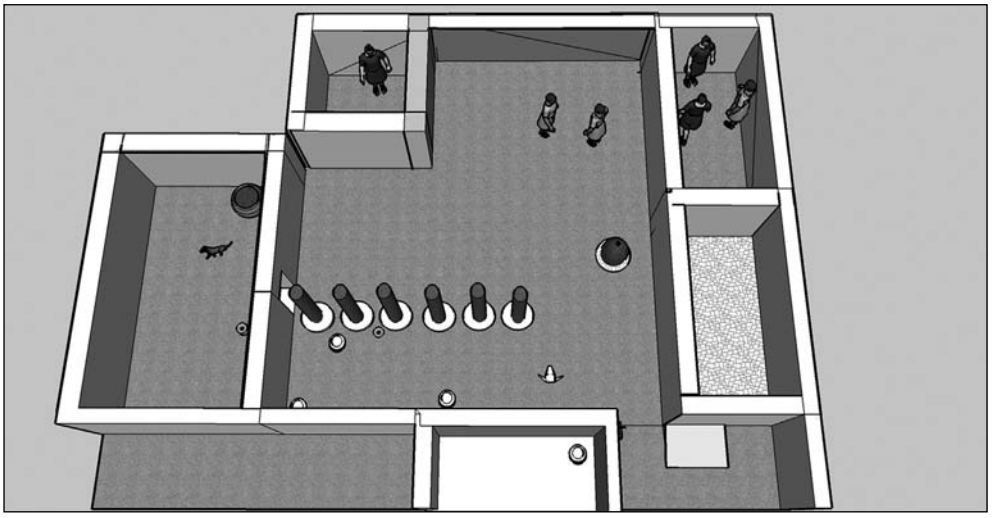


Figure 10. Isometric reconstruction of Building 66323 (vertical view) with location of the various deposits in Building 66323.

similar to that of private dwellings (e.g., Daviau 1993: 213), and the materials used are quite rudimentary. That said, it should be noted that architectural ornamentation is rare in the LB southern Levant, as is the use of ashlar masonry, which is generally reserved for palaces (e.g., Oren 1992: 105). All of the buildings in Table 1 were built of fieldstones and mudbricks. It is interesting to note, however, that various examples of planning (and therefore more energy expenditure in terms of the time and effort made in planning) did go into the construction of Building 66323. For example, its outer southern wall was built as a stepped structure that followed the natural topography of the slope in this part of the site, rather than on an artificial platform. The planning and efforts that went into the construction of this large building on a steep slope may be an indication that it was a public (rather than private) endeavor, since such a large structure might have necessitated conscription.

The syntax of the building plan: Analyses of usage and movement patterns within a built environment may shed light on social values, social restrictions, and boundaries (e.g., Hillier and Handon 1984: Parker Pearson and Richards 1994a: 24; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a; 2003b). Since we do not have the complete plan of Building 66323, it is impossible to conduct a full syntax analysis. We suggest that the entrance to the building was from the west, since in the intact southern wall there is

Table 1

	Definition	Size (meters)	Walls: width and material	Relation to other buildings	Courtyard	Floors	References
Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/ Gath	—	20 × 12	0.8–1 m, fieldstones and mudbricks	Not attached from the north, south, or east	Inner courtyard	?	Shai et al. forthcoming
Aphek	Governors' residence	20 × 20	1.4 m, fieldstones and mudbricks	Isolated building	Outside building	2	Gadot 2009a: 55
Tell el-Farʿah (S)	Governors' residence	23 × 22	1.5–2 m, mudbricks	Two isolated buildings	Outside building hall	2	Oren 1992: 119–120, Fig. 22
Tel Mor	Governors' residence / fort, St. VIII	22.5 × 22.5	2–2.5 m, mudbricks	Not attached to other buildings	Small inner court and outer court to the west	2	Barako 2007: 20, Plan 4.2
Tel Seraʿ	Governors' residence	25 × 25	2 m, mudbricks	?	Inner court	?	Oren 1992: 118, Fig. 17
Gezer	'Main building'	19 × 13	? Stone	Attached to ancient city wall	Inner courtyard	2	Herzog 1997: 178–179, Fig. 4.30: C
Ashdod	Governors' residence (Area G)	?	2 m, fieldstones and mudbricks	Not attached	Inner courts	?	Dothan and Porath 1993: 41–43, Plan 7
Tell Beit Mirsim	Patrician house	Ca. 20 × 20	1.3 m, mudbricks	?	Front courtyard	?	Oren 1992: 116, Fig. 14
Tel Batash	Patrician house (St. VIII, Building 475)	14 × 13	1.2 m, stone	Not attached to other buildings	Inner courtyard	2	Mazar 1997b: 52, Fig 1.5
Tel Harassim	House, Building 305	14 × 13	Ca. 0.8 m, fieldstones	Not attached to other buildings	Outer court in front of building	1	Givon 1999: Fig. 2
Taʿanakh	Fort/patrician house	18 × 20	1.2 m, stone	?	Front courtyard	2	Oren 1992: 116, Fig. 15
Megiddo	Courtyard house, Stratum VI A	15 × 15	Stone and mudbricks	Not attached	Inner courtyard	1	Gadot and Yasur Landau 2006
Ashdod	Courtyard house (Area B)	12 × 17	1.1/0.6 m, mudbricks	Part of domestic quarter	Inner courtyard	?	Oren 1992: 116, Fig. 13; Daviau 1993: 312–317
Ashdod 5381	Courtyard house	Ca. 14 × 16	0.8 m, mudbricks	Attached	Inner courtyard	1	Mazar and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 16, Plan 2.2

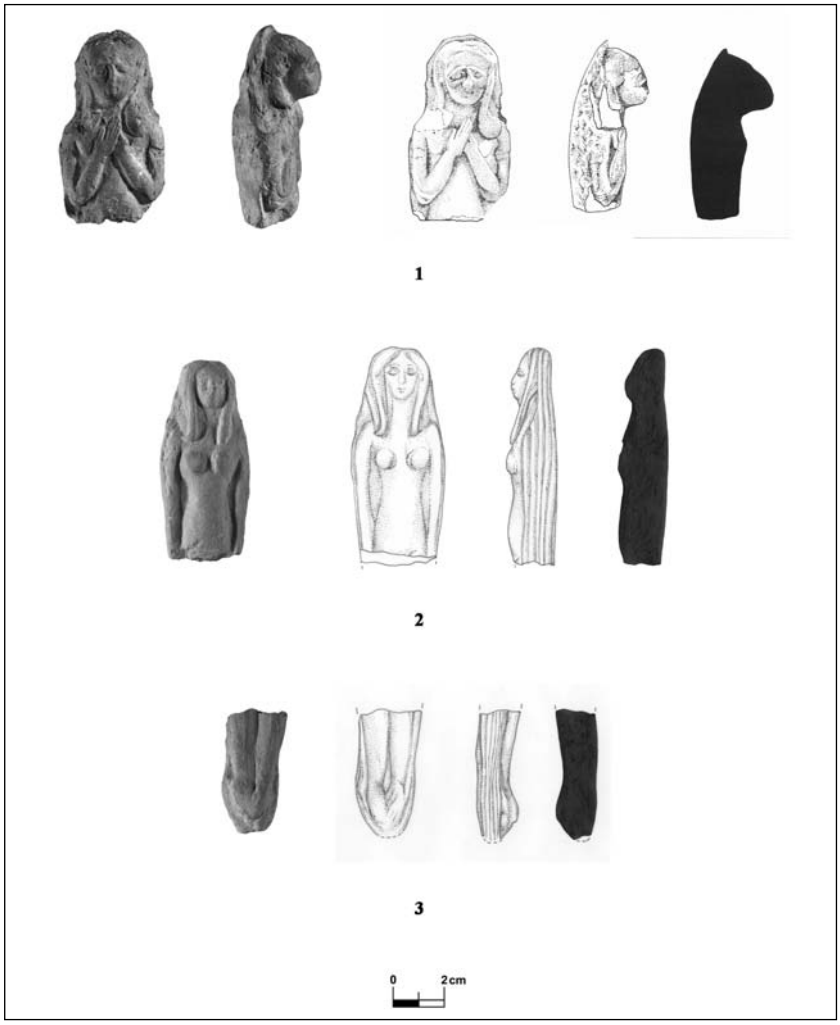


Figure 11. LB plaque figurines from Area E.

no sign of an entrance, and the eastern side faces a relatively steep slope. It is assumed that from this western entrance, a narrow corridor led into the central feature of Building 66323-a courtyard (66009). As mentioned above, this reconstruction is based on a comparison to Building 475 at Tel Batash (Mazar 1997b: 52, Fig. 1.5). It should be noted that, when entering the building, one did not go straight into the courtyard but rather through a passageway. The entrance to the central courtyard was therefore controlled: first, one would have to go through the passageway, and then one would have to enter the courtyard through a relatively narrow entrance (ca. 1 m wide). The courtyard is divided by a row of pillar bases, which is seen in other "public" buildings in LB Canaan, such as at Tel Batash, Strata VIII–VII (Building 475: Mazar 1997b: 52–57; Panitz-Cohen 2006a: 176–183, Fig. 15; Building 315: Mazar 1997b: 58–72; Panitz-Cohen 2006a: 183–190, Fig. 16). Since the access to the other rooms was from the main courtyard, movement in the house was also controlled.

The restricted entrance into an inner court characterizes almost all of the houses in Table 1. However, there are slight differences that may indicate social values and restrictions. The governors' residences feature an outer court located in front of the entrance and only a small inner court. This seems to indicate that the outer (ceremonial?) court was part of the public domain, while the entrance into the first floor of the building, the location of the storerooms, was more restricted. In the smaller domestic structures, such as Buildings 305 and 315 at Tel Batash (Mazar 1997b: Figs. 13–14), the external entrance leads directly into the main, inner court; for comparison, a similar syntax is seen in the four-room houses of the Iron Age (Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a; 2003b). The "courtyard houses" at Ashdod and Megiddo and the "Patrician House" at Tel Batash all have a small entrance room that separates the external world from the inner court, i.e., the center of the house. This may indicate conceptual dichotomies of external vs. internal and public vs. private or domestic. Due to the limits of the excavated area and architectural preservation in this case, we do not know if an outer court similar to those in the governors' residences existed in front of building 66323. As it seems that the building did not have such a court (based on comparative data—see Table 1), the syntax of Building 66323 is most similar to the urban courtyard and patrician buildings.

The location of the building: The location of Building 66323 is also of interest, as it is not situated on the upper part of the mound, but

rather on its easternmost slopes, in what would appear to be a rather peripheral part of the site. It seems that this location may have been an intentional act, separating the building from other structures in the city, as well as making it stand out on the landscape of the site.[5] Most importantly, the building's location may help us understand aspects of the sociopolitical structure in Gath during the thirteenth century BCE. While this period is usually thought to be a period of economic regression (e.g., Dever 1992), it seems that Gath flourished during this time, expanding to include the eastern slopes of the site, an area that was only settled in periods when the site reached a peak in size (and see Uziel and Maeir 2005 for a comparison between LB Gath and Ekron). One should note that excavations in other parts of the site (most notably Areas P and F) have revealed impressive LB architectural remains, indicating that the architectural and urban fabric of Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath during the thirteenth century BCE was not one of regression and crisis, but of a flourit.[6]

Building 66323: Suggested Use of Space

A spatial analysis of the finds from the building at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath is a difficult task that requires much care and awareness of formation processes (e.g., Schiffer 1983, 1985) (Figs. 10, 12, 13). As the building is located on the slope of the tell, many of the original artifacts may have washed down slope; therefore, their excavated location reflects secondary deposition. Furthermore, the proximity of the building to the surface may have adversely affected the deposition of artifacts as well as their post-depositional history (although in certain areas, the Stratum E4b contexts were sealed from above, particularly in the western parts of the building). However, the most significant aspect in the deposition of the artifacts, which makes spatial analysis a difficult task to undertake, is the fact that most of the pottery, which represents the

[5] Interestingly, one can note Aurenche, Bazin, and Sadler's (1997: 136) observation that one of the criteria for defining the houses of the wealthiest families in contemporary villages in the Keban region, Turkey, is their location on the periphery of the village.

[6] There are other sites where there is evidence for prosperity at the end of the Late Bronze Age—see, e.g., Megiddo (Ussishkin 1998).

majority of finds relevant for this study, is sherds.[7] This may be due to the long period of time in which the building was in use, the way in which the building went out of use, or various post-depositional activities. In addition, certain areas appear to exhibit signs of destruction while others seem to have been simply abandoned.

Despite these difficulties, the location of some of the finds does hint to the activities conducted in different rooms and in the building in general. The presence of at least one *tabun* (49022) on the south side of the courtyard suggests that cooking was conducted within the building. The vessels found in proximity to the *tabun* (including storage jars and cooking pots) also indicate that the area was used for food preparation. Additional evidence for cooking and food preparation is seen in other parts of the building as well, as several cooking pots (e.g., Fig. 5: 12–14) and grinding implements were found throughout. It is interesting to note the large size of one of these cooking pots (Fig. 5: 14); with a diameter of 50 cm, it appears that such vessels were used to cook for a large group of people in Building 66323.

Other finds that indicate specific activities in different rooms include the archaeobotanical remains, including wheat, in Room 84010, indicating that the room served either for storage or food preparation (Mahler-Slasky and Kislev forthcoming). Interestingly, the location of this room at the entrance to the building is similar to the location of the grains found in the entrance room at Tel Batash (Room 347; Mazar 1997b: 66). While pending final analysis, flint tools (including sickle blades) were recovered in various locations in the building, indicating another aspect of daily life.

The presence of finds that could be interpreted as luxury items, such as imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery, is commonplace in the LB southern Levant (Gadot et al. forthcoming). However, as opposed to most Mycenaean imports from other LB sites, which include primarily small, closed containers, the Mycenaean imports from this building included a significant sample of large serving vessels (i.e., kraters and jugs) and few small containers (Gadot et al. forthcoming).

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[7] The many and varied forms of foundation deposits mentioned above are interpreted as being connected to the establishment of the building, and therefore cannot be used for making inferences about behavior inside the building or the function of rooms throughout the extended use history of the building. Nevertheless, these numerous deposits do hint to the original status and ideological importance of this building, perhaps indicating its somewhat sacred status.

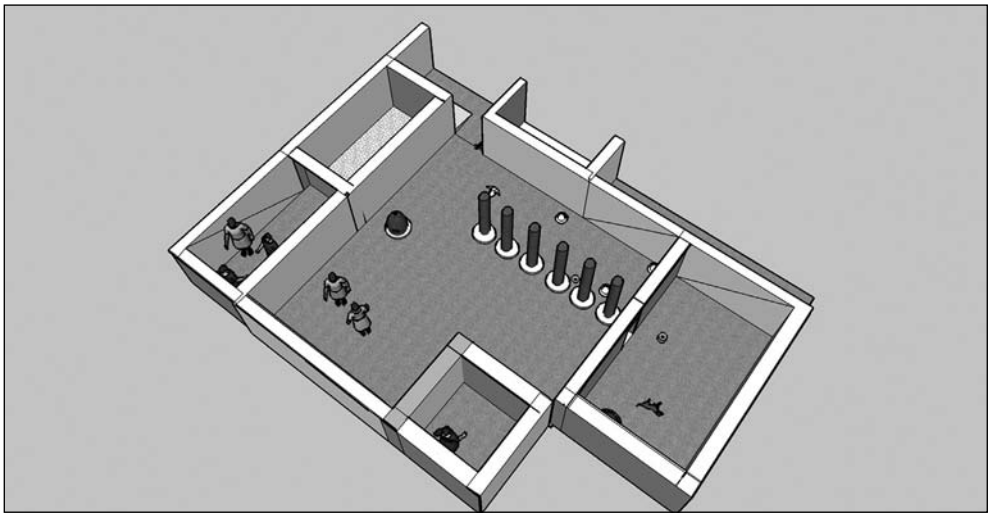


Figure 12. Isometric reconstruction of Building 66323, looking southwest.

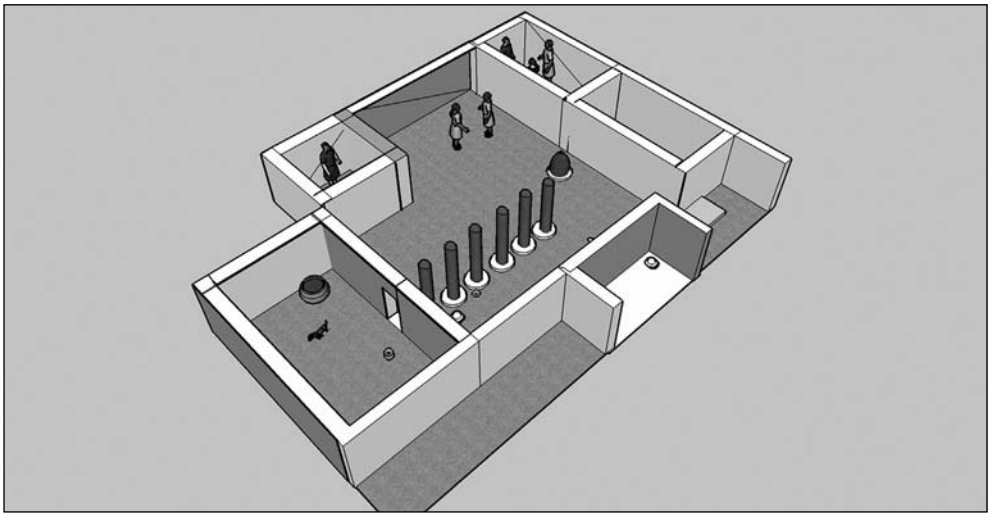


Figure 13. Isometric reconstruction of Building 66323, looking southeast.

While this may be a result of the small sample of imports found in Building 66323, it stands in contrast to data from other sites in the region (e.g., French and Sherratt 2004; Yasur-Landau 2005). Together with the large-sized cooking pot noted above, one can perhaps suggest that some kind of feasting occurred in the building.[8]

The installation built of yellow mudbricks and lined with fieldstones in Room 84011 is of importance. The exact activity conducted in this installation is difficult to determine; however, the presence of relatively high quantities of metal in the sediments nearby (discerned through chemical analyses; S. Weiner, personal communication), as well as a dagger deposit in the foundation trench of Wall 56018 (see below), may bear witness to metallurgical activities in Building 66323. Metallurgical activities are generally not considered within the realm of household production (e.g., Daviau 1993: 437–438), which is further indication of the nonprivate character of this building.

The pottery assemblage of Building 66323 is typical of the Late Bronze Age (Figs. 6–9) and includes bowls, cooking pots, and storage jars; for the most part, it can be compared to pottery from many different contemporary contexts (for full discussion, see Gadot et al. forthcoming). The plaque figurines (Fig. 11) are also commonplace in LB Canaan (e.g., Tadmor 1981). However, one can identify a number of more unique features within this assemblage. First, four cup-and-saucer vessels were found in the building (e.g., Fig. 6: 10). While these are not unique to Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath, they are often associated with cultic activity (e.g., Uziel and Gadot 2010), with numerous examples having been found in cultic contexts, such as the Fosse Temple at nearby Lachish (Tufnell et al. 1940: Pl. 44). Several groups of astragali (Lev-Tov forthcoming) were also found in the building, likely indicating another aspect of cultic activity that took place there (see Gilmour 1997).

To this, one can add that quite a few Egyptian and Egyptianizing scarabs and seals were discovered in the building (Münger and Keel forthcoming). These finds might hint to a possible administrative (or at least administratively oriented) function for this building; however, they might just be indicative of the affluence of the people who lived in it.

Finally, in the occupational debris of Room 58037, an incised hieratic sherd was found. It was locally made, inscribed before firing, and

[8] On Canaanite feasting, see, e.g., Yasur-Landau 2005; Zuckerman 2007b.

it was paleographically dated to the Ramesside period, with an affinity toward the late Nineteenth or early Twentieth Egyptian Dynasties (late thirteenth/early twelfth centuries BCE; Maeir et al. 2004). The suggested reading as *Šps*, meaning "noble, precious, august," can be explained as a label marking the content of a vessel (Maeir et al. 2004). In Egypt, vessels with these markings were usually made of stone and used in cultic or mortuary contexts (Wimmer forthcoming). This sherd reflects a mixture of two writing traditions (Egyptian—a hieratic inscription—and Canaanite—inscribing a vessel before firing; Maeir et al. 2004: 133). Of interest to this study is the fact that we have evidence of writing, which is perhaps related to cultic activity, or, as noted above, to some sort of administrative activity (on the use of writing in LB Canaan, see, e.g., van der Toorn 2000; Wimmer and Maeir 2007).

From the above, it appears that the building, while serving some "domestic functions," had many aspects that hint to functions and meanings beyond the quotidian. The relatively large size of the building, the unique architectural features (pillars), as well as the many nonmundane finds (imported objects, Egyptiaca, and cult-oriented objects), seem to indicate that the building either served as the abode of a person/family of elevated social status, or for some public function.

Conclusions

The building that we have discussed is clearly unique both in its size and in several of its finds. It is difficult, however, to determine the function(s) of the building. On one hand, the identification of cooking activities and food preparation suggests domestic activities, but the cooking and serving activities may have been for groups larger than a nuclear family. Other finds suggest that the function of the building and the activities conducted within it were not typical household activities. This relates to the question addressed in the title, that of distinguishing between public and private architecture. Size is many times used to define public buildings (befitting Building 66323), yet an elite dwelling, or a dwelling of an extended family, might also be very large (Chesson 2003: 87).

It seems that, in this case, a number of aspects do suggest that the building served as a dwelling; however, it was not a standard domestic structure. To start with, the row of pillars in the center of the building

suggests an architectural style not typical of dwellings, not even large ones. Furthermore, the possible production of metal within the building or in its vicinity is uncommon in domestic contexts in the Late Bronze Age. The presence of scarabs, seals, an Egyptian inscription, various ceramic imports, and finds that indicate feasting may all fit with an interpretation of the structure as an elite dwelling. Most telling, perhaps, is the cultic/ideological endorsement given to the building when it was constructed, as evidenced by the placement of numerous foundation deposits, both the unusually large number of lamp-and-bowl deposits, and also the more unique deposits (the bovine skull, donkey jaw, dog skeleton, and MB dagger). It is therefore suggested that the building probably had a public nature, with cultic activities taking place within its confines (suggested by certain vessels and deposits), as well as feasting and, perhaps, the production of metals. Perhaps these activities were linked to a person of elevated social status. Conceivably, the domestic areas were on an upper floor of the building, but as of now, there is insufficient evidence to determine if in fact there was an upper floor, and, if so, what activities were conducted there.

Our understanding of the restriction of movement within the house—controlled through the central courtyard—further reflects the use of certain spaces as more private and restricted areas (in general, see Hillier and Hanson 1984: 176–197). Similar concepts of restricting movement within the house have been identified in other architectural plans in other periods in the Levant. For example, Bunimovitz and Faust (2003a; 2003b) suggest that the design of the four-room house was intended to allow for the separation of the pure and impure, with differential access to the different rooms within the house. A similar situation does not exist in Building 66323. While access to the building was not restricted as, for example, in the Minoan villa (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 111), it clearly was not meant to have unrestricted access from the external world; an effort seems to have been made to restrict access to the internal parts of this building, where, perhaps, private activities were conducted. Perhaps not everyone was welcome to participate in and see these activities from the outside (for a discussion of preferential viewing of the interior of elite houses by the "outside world," see, e.g., Hendon 2004: 276). Without reconstructing all of the activities occurring in the different rooms (and see above, for the problems with doing so in Building 66323), it is difficult to explain clearly why access to Rooms 58036, 68016, and 66325 was controlled. However, it seems that controlled access was part of the way in which

patrician houses in general were planned and built. We suggest that the architectural model behind these patrician houses included spaces that were public (in the sense that anyone allowed into the building was given access), alongside private rooms, with more limited, private space. The design of the building at Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath may also have allowed for limited interaction between inhabitants, as the rooms were set on different sides of the courtyard. Thus, while those using Room 58036 would have had access to Room 68016, they would not necessarily be allowed to access Room 66325 or other rooms in the house (see Grahame 1997, for further interpretations on strangers, inhabitants, and access in domestic space).[9]

In conclusion, the study of Building 66323 demonstrates the difficulties in defining a building as public or private, and defining if a building falls in between these two extremes. We believe though that it is possible to understand the function and meaning of such a building more fully only through a close analysis of both the architectural and artifactual evidence, along with what can be reconstructed about the activities that took place in the building.

[9] It should be noted that, based on the available evidence from the building, there does not seem to be any clear indication for the differentiation of gender-related activities.

HOUSEHOLD GLEANINGS FROM IRON I TEL DAN

David Ilan

The excavations conducted by Avraham Biran at Tel Dan between 1966 and 1999 exposed extensive Early Iron Age levels with a total expanse of circa 1200 m^2, making it one of the largest exposures from this period in the southern Levant (Biran 1994; Ilan 1999). The size of this exposure, the existence of three successive strata (VI, V, and IVB) and the wealth of the material culture—prosaic as it is—destroyed in successive destructions, makes the Iron I strata of Tel Dan amenable to straightforward spatial and quantitative analysis. This paper summarizes some of the results of this analysis, particularly those conclusions that impact on the subjects of family organization, economic behavior, and political structure at Early Iron Age Tel Dan. The patterns discerned at Early Iron Age Tel Dan and the interpretation of these patterns may provide useful guidelines for the interpretation of other domestic assemblages.

I shall refrain from an extensive recounting of the theoretical background that informs the interpretations offered here, and simply remark that several key sources provide this background: Wilk and Rathje's seminal framework for the parameters of household archaeology (e.g., 1982); Bourdieu's concept of habitus (e.g., 1977); and Gidden's concept of "structuration" (e.g., 1979). These (and others) will be referenced further in the conclusions where relevant. Needless to say, these programmatic works have influenced most serious research in the subdiscipline of household archaeology; I do not claim to be breaking ground in this respect. Rather, the emphasis here is placed on some specifics encountered in the archaeological record at Tel Dan that may be of use to future researchers. I begin with a contextual description of the material and follow with a series of generalizing observations.

The Iron I Levels of Tel Dan: Stratigraphic and Chronological Background

Each of the Iron I strata (VI, V, IVB) shows a general homogeneity in architecture and material culture, though there are some processual

differences (expressed schematically in Ilan 1999: Table 3.1). Though Iron I remains were recovered in all the excavated fields (Fig. 1), only Areas B, M, and Y were excavated to the extent that warrants detailed discussion (the fragmentary remains of Areas A, H, and T are described only briefly in Ilan 1999). The total exposure in these areas is 945 m^2 in Stratum VI, 1105 m^2 in Stratum V, and 1210 m^2 in Stratum IVB. Area B has by far the largest exposure: 825 m^2 in Stratum VI, 950 m^2 in Stratum V, and 1025 m^2 in Stratum IVB. The following is a distilled description of the remains by stratum.

Stratum VIIA

This level comprises the ephemeral remains of what might be called the transition between the Late Bronze and Iron I Ages. Its remains are cut by the Stratum VI pits and disturbed by Stratum V floors and buildings (Fig. 2). This means that there are no undeniably "clean" contexts. In general, the associated pottery appears to be largely made up of LB forms with some foreshadowing of Iron I types, but since there are no complete pottery vessels that can be attributed to it with certainty, we are never sure whether the horizon is a mixture of assemblages from two sequential occupations or a single independent one. Hence, though it exists for certain, little can be said about it.

Stratum VI (Fig. 3)

The dominant features of this stratum are its pits, 45 of which have been counted (not including Area T). Based on the literature, and some hints from the Tel Dan remains, I have accepted the thesis that they are mainly grain pits (Ilan 2008), though some would suggest that many are compost pits (Schloen 2001: 340–342). Some of the old LB architecture was reused and some of the newly constructed buildings in Areas B and Y appear to date to this stratum. Most of Area B-west is a field of grain pits, with an extent of perhaps 500 m^2, which lies between widely spaced buildings. In Area B-east, where much of the area's architecture was located, only four pits were discerned. One of these (Pit 336) appears to have contained carbonized grain, which together with Pit 3004 in Area Y, are the only examples of Iron I pits

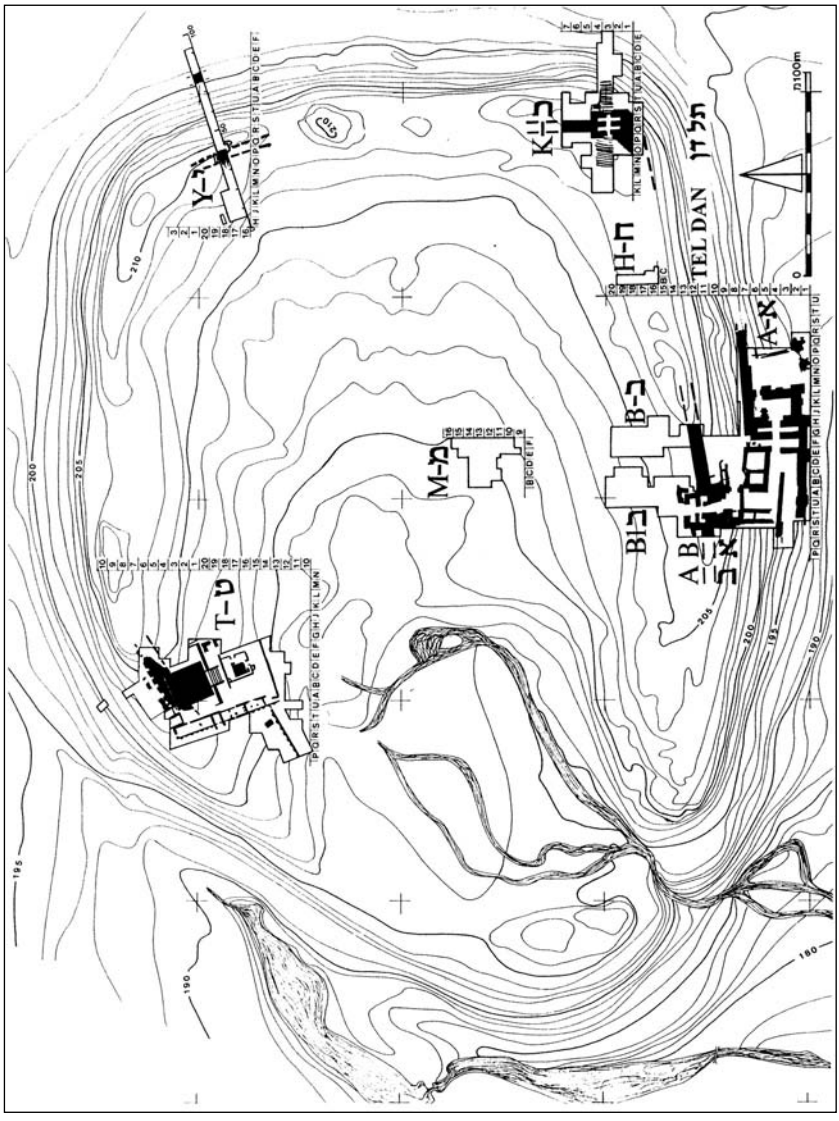


Figure 1. Plan of Tel Dan showing excavation areas (= Ilan 2008: Fig. 1).

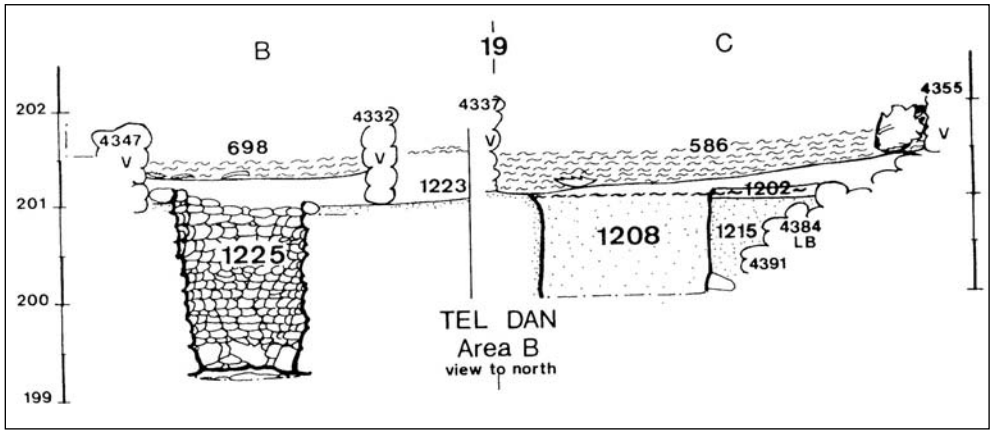


Figure 2. Stratigraphic section drawing that illustrates the relationship between Strata VIIA, VI, and V.

containing grain outside of Shiloh and Tell Keisan (Kislev 1980, 1993: 354; Lederman and Finkelstein 1993: 47–48).[1]

A number of the pits contained occupational debris, including large quantities of restorable pottery. This has been interpreted as refuse originating in a destroyed occupation layer that was dumped into pits no longer deemed worthy of use, probably also with the express purpose of creating a level surface on which to build anew (Ilan 2008: 91–92). Metallurgy was extensively practiced in this level in both Area B-west and Area Y. This takes the form of partially sunken, small, circular stone and clay furnaces, crucibles, bellow-pots, blowpipe nozzles, crushed bone fragments, slag, and metal fragments. Two sunken pithoi were part of the layout in Area B-west; they may have contained water for quenching.

Stratum V (Fig. 4)

This stratum, which in most places shows at least two phases, experienced the development of a dense network of architecture in all areas excavated—so dense, in fact, that no large open spaces have been detected at all. At the same time, the number of grain pits falls radically,

[1] An Iron IIA pit containing grain is documented at Aphek (Gadot 2009: 100–105).

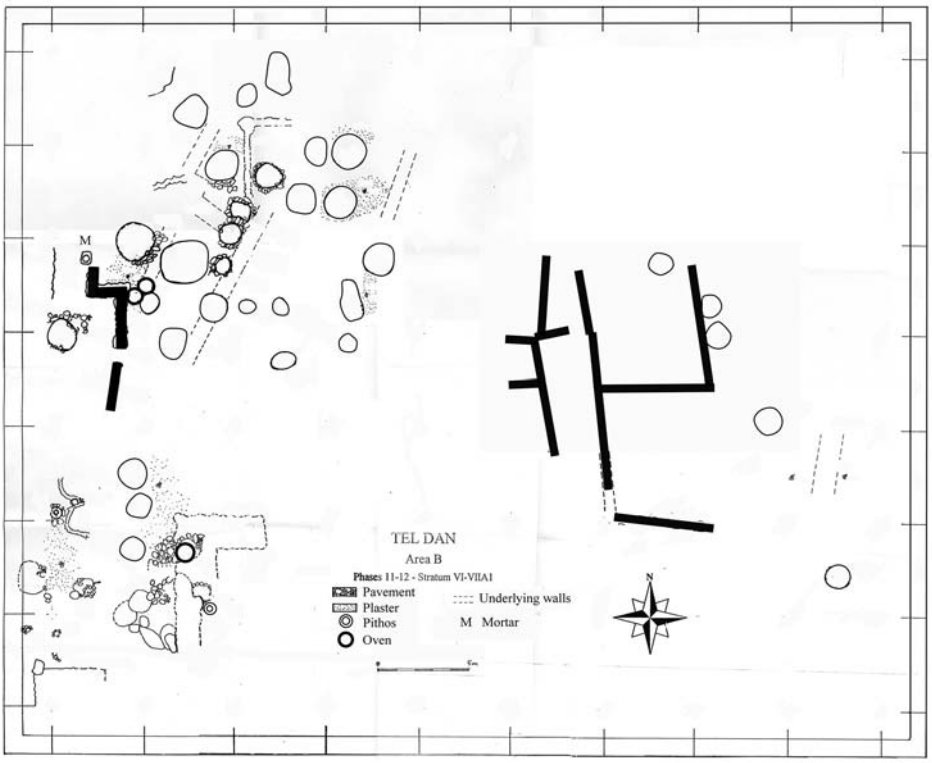


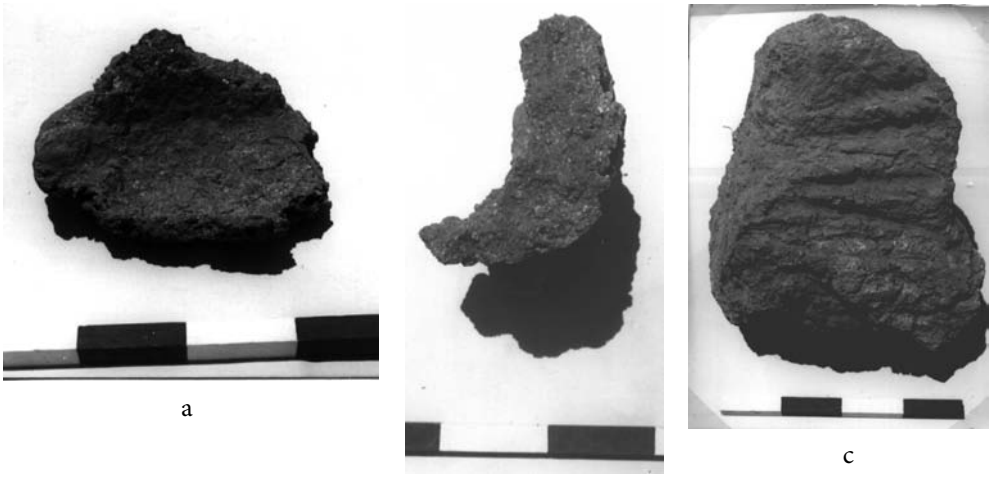
Figure 3. Schematic plan of Tel Dan Area B, Phase B11 (Stratum VI) (= Ilan 2008: Fig. 2).

to a total of four throughout the entire excavated area. It may be that some of the pits attributed to Stratum VI in Area B belong to an early phase of Stratum V, but there is a clear trend toward a smaller number of pits. Without going into detail here, I suggest that their locations better suit their interpretation as grain pits than as compost pits.

Building was carried out on a series of low terraces on the interior slope formed by the old MB ramparts. A particular house may occupy more than one terrace. Perhaps nine residential compounds have been tentatively identified in Area B based on room agglomerations and doorway locations. However, the changing locations of doorways and subdivision of rooms is indicative of the dynamic nature of household structure. The picture is one of complex insulae whose spaces have been rearranged and recombined over time, so that the original open spaces between buildings are no longer distinguishable, though there



Figure 4. Schematic plan of Tel Dan Area B, Phases B9–10 (Stratum V) (= Ilan 2008: Fig. 3).



a b c

Figure 5a–c. Wall, floor, and ceiling mud-plaster fragments from Tel Dan Stratum V.

are some signs of the basic courtyard structure theme with its attendant activities (cf. Schloen 2001: 104–116). However, because there are no large open spaces, it is rarely possible to identify separate courtyards. One alleyway was identified in Area B-west. No special provisions appear to have been made to facilitate drainage.

There is little clear-cut evidence for two-story construction (perhaps in Area Y, Phases 4–5), though it cannot be ruled out. Nor are there unequivocal signs of basement construction, such as has been observed at Horvat ʾAvot in the Galilee (Braun 1993). Walls are typically one row across with the stones laid mostly as headers. These were covered with mud plaster, which was actually identified in a few cases (Fig. 5). Doorways are almost always located at the ends of walls rather than in their middle. Floors are mainly either tamped earth or paved, though in some places lime plaster was used. As noted above, pits are few and perhaps limited to one per compound or household.

Complete grinding slabs were found, usually one or two per house, accompanied by similar numbers of smaller upper stones. Fewer mortars—perhaps one per compound—were also found. A number of complete, originally upright pithoi were found lined up along walls and in corners (Fig. 6). Groupings vary from one to five in number; rooms with more than two are more likely to have had a specialized storage function. A similar configuration has been documented at Shiloh (e.g., Bunimovitz 1993). In all except one of the rooms the pithoi found



Figure 6. In situ pithos in a corner in Tel Dan Stratum V.

in situ were collared-rim pithoi.[2] Most of the other restorable vessels and other artifacts were concentrated along the walls as well.

Metallurgy continued in this stratum only in Area B-west (Biran 1994: 147–157). Large caches of flint were also found, mainly of sickle blades, suggesting a sickle-manufacturing specialist in this location. Also in B-west, a building was erected that has been interpreted as a modest cult place: Sanctuary 7082. The remains of metal melting furnaces and their related paraphernalia surround this building. Sanctuary 7082 had a small corner adyton or "holy of holies," which contained a group of complete, apparently votive, objects, including a ceramic model sanctuary. Another evidence for cult exists in the presence of *masseboth* in Area B-east: one single *massebah* and one pair. No anthropomorphic depictions were revealed, though some zoomorphic finds were kernos fragments of a bird and a bull and Egypto-Philistine-style bird bowl fragments comparable to examples from the coast and Tell Qasile in particular.

No remains of fortification were revealed, though such cannot be ruled out since the crest of the tell's circumference was eroded and built over in subsequent periods. The construction of fortification walls lower down the slope in Iron II would have allowed the dismantling of any upper wall for building materials and expanding houses.

The last phase of Stratum V (perhaps the earlier one too) ended in a tremendous conflagration. No human remains were found in this destruction, indicating that the inhabitants were either removed or escaped their homes in time.

Stratum IVB (Fig. 7)

This stratum shows much continuity with the previous one. However, unlike the phases of Stratum V, which exhibit the clearing away of previous destruction debris to reuse existing spaces, Stratum IVB was built over the destruction remains of Stratum V, leaving the latter largely intact. At the same time, existing wall stubs were reused so that the area plans are much the same, save for further subdivision of spaces and minor alterations. Some significant changes did occur, however.

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[2] The exception is the three Tel Dan "Galilean" pithoi (my PG1–2 types, Ilan 1999: 82–84) found in Locus 698 (Ilan 1999: Plan 3 in Square B19–B20).

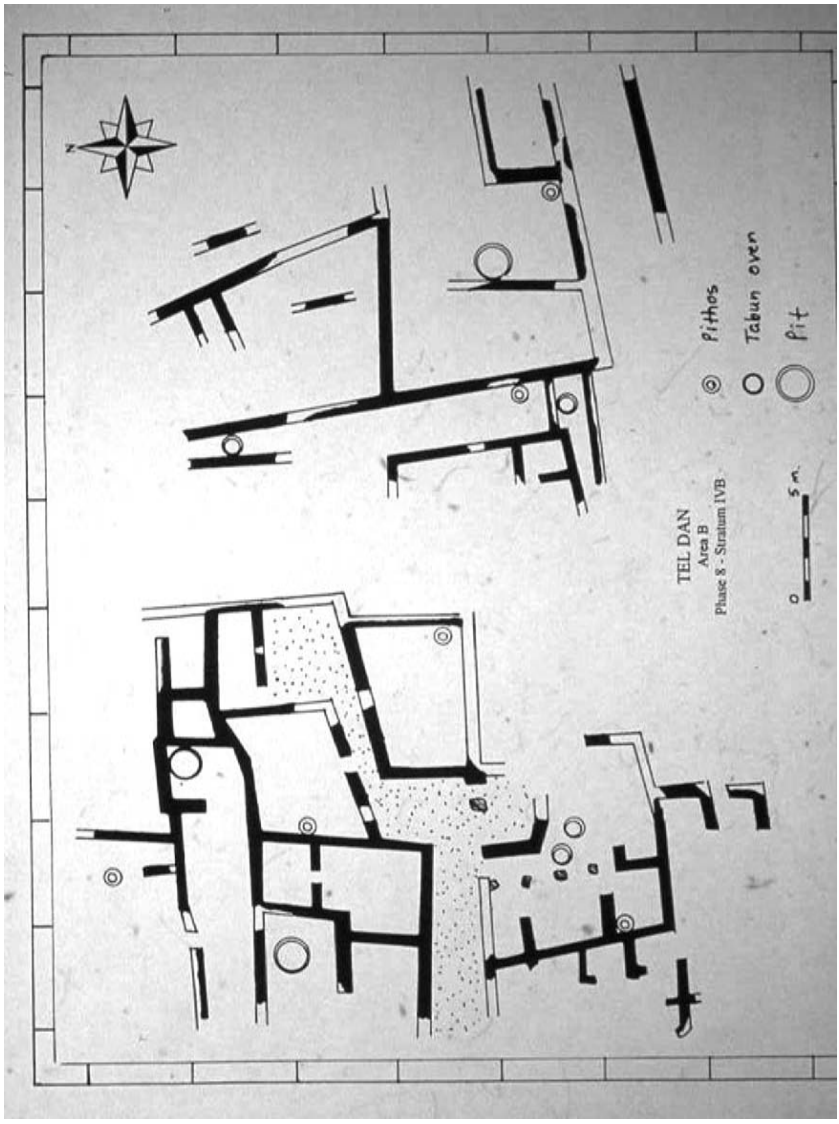


Figure 7. Schematic plan of Tel Dan Area B, Phase B8 (Stratum IVB).

For one thing, we begin to see a more comprehensive use of double rows of smaller stones in the wall construction, a technique that seems better suited to the construction of mudbrick superstructures. This is also the only Iron I stratum in which column bases have been identified (in the building that succeeded Sanctuary 7082 in Area B-west). A few small rooms seem to have no doorways; it is suggested that these may be either basements or storage facilities accessed only from above; grain storage is one possibility.

As in Stratum V, there are very few pits, perhaps one per household. Unlike Stratum V, however, there are also very few pithoi in the rooms, perhaps one per household, like the pits. All the complete or nearly complete pithoi are of the "Phoenician" or "Tyrian" type. Other pithos types are present as fragments—the upper portions sometimes used in installations like cooking ranges. Thus, by Stratum IVB it would appear that collared-rim pithoi and "Galilean" pithoi were no longer being manufactured. This reduction in pithos numbers probably has implications for modes of production and economic organization, indicating a more centralized system of storage and perhaps taxation.

Metallurgy continued in Area B-west as before, although the plan of the metallurgy area appears to have changed, with more emphasis on small square cubicles appended to building walls, a feature reminiscent of Deir Alla Phase B. In Area B-west, *tabun* ovens are lacking, in contrast to the other fields; perhaps this is another indication of growing specialization and activity "zoning."

Architecture, Stationary Installations, and Socioeconomic Organization

At this point we can take a broader view of the three main Iron Age I strata of Tel Dan. We are particularly interested in how spatial relationships and material culture distributions change over time, since these may reflect social, economic, and political change. It will suffice to roster some of these transitions.

The blocking up of doorways and opening of new ones is an indication of changes in the assignation of space and in extended family makeup over time. This may have something to do with patrilineal marriage patterns (Ilan 1999). Banning and Byrd (1981) have discussed similar processes in the Neolithic of the Levant, and Kramer (1982b: 117) has described an illustrative example at "Aliabad" in the

Zagros and emphasized the importance of discerning structural alterations for reconstructing the developmental cycle of residential groups (Kramer 1982a: 671).

Stratum V and perhaps Stratum VI had mainly, perhaps only, single-story houses. In Stratum IVB we begin to see two-story houses. This is an indication of growing population density. By the same token, domestic structures became smaller, more segmented, and more cramped in Stratum V and even more so in Stratum IVB. This is held to be one sign of habitation transitioning to a smaller, nuclear family mode (Ilan 1999).

The system of commodity storage changed over time. Liquid commodities (chiefly olive oil and wine) were stored in pithoi. Grain was stored in pits in Stratum VI but in Stratum V the bulk was either stored in pithoi or above-surface cells. In Stratum IVB, with only one or two pithoi and one or two pits per household, most commodity storage was concentrated elsewhere. Only quantities sufficient for household use were kept in domestic spaces. This is held to be evidence for a more centralized economy, which may correspond to a preference for nuclear family residence (e.g., Ilan 2008).

Animal troughs or feed bins occur in Stratum V (Fig. 4; and see Ilan 2008: Fig. 10, noting that L.4710 dates to Stratum V and not Stratum IVB, as mistakenly indicated in the photo caption). They are not a feature of Stratum IVB (Fig. 7). Similar to the patterns noted above, this suggests that by the late Iron I (Stratum IVB) animal husbandry was largely absent from the domestic architecture and had moved to either a designated locale, or locales, on the tell, or to a place outside the settlement. This may also be testimony to specialization. Perhaps by this time not all households participated in the pursuit of animal husbandry.

Disposal of the Dead

There are no human remains in the Iron Age I levels of Tel Dan, nor have any tombs or burials from this period been identified in the surrounding countryside. This dearth of burials is paralleled, by and large, throughout the southern Levant (Kletter 2002: n. 3; contra the impression given by Bloch-Smith 2004 and Faust 2004: 174–175, 183); it is especially prominent in the central highlands of Canaan (Kletter 2002).

Artifactual and Ecofactual Clues to Socioeconomic Organization

Ceramics

A total of 401 complete vessels were recorded in the Early Iron Age levels of Tel Dan (a complete vessel is one where at least 40% is preserved). Area B-west had the most in total (N = 193), but Area Y had the most (N = 76) relative to the size of the excavated area. The ceramic assemblage shows close affinities with Early Iron Age sites of the southern Levant, but also with sites of coastal and inland Lebanon and the Golan Heights (Ilan 1999). Inland Syria is still somewhat unknown in this regard. Any notion of cultural or social insularity should be ruled out, whatever the mechanisms of communication and exchange. Information exchange took place from almost all directions and across wide distances.

Once again, we can suggest some ways in which the ceramic assemblage reflects trends in household behavior and organization. It also provides evidence for the existence and acculturation of distinct ("ethnic") traditions in food preparation and commodity storage.

- Two distinct pithos-making traditions are present, one more southern (collared-rim pithoi) and one more maritime (both "Galilean" and "Phoenician" or "Tyrian" pithoi; Biran 1989; Ilan 1999: 81–85). The three different pithos types were manufactured on site. At the same time, hybrid types developed too. Nowhere else are both traditions represented in such large numbers of vessels. Among other things, the different forms of pithos variability are an expression of acculturation.
- Recycling of broken ceramics is an important theme. Large pithoi fragments—upper or lower halves—were recycled as latrines (Ilan 1999: Fig. 3.83) and as cooking ranges, with the mouths placed upside down (Ilan 1999: Fig. 3.72, 3.84). Cooking pot fragments are used frequently as a lining for pyrotechnic installations such as metallurgy furnaces and *tabun* ovens. These fragments tend to be large ones, reflecting their curation for recycling, initiated not long after breakage.
- Cooking pots display a variety of circumferences and volumes. One assumes that this reflects the different quantities required for preparation and consumption. Some foods are prepared in larger

quantities—for feasting or other forms of wide distribution—and others are prepared in smaller quantities as sauces and garnishing, or as portions sufficient for a small family or for a family's high status members. Cooking pot diameter shows a statistical bimodality with vessels in the 20–25 cm category and the 41–45 cm category dominant (see graph in Fig. 8). These must be the most frequently used sizes by the cooks of Tel Dan. When viewed diachronically, however, Stratum IVB (the latest Iron I horizon) shows a distinct drop in the proportion of very large cooking pots relative to earlier strata. Perhaps this is an indication that communal food preparation and consumption was less common and that food was more often consumed in smaller groups, i.e., within the framework of nuclear families.

- A particular kind of handle-less cooking jug is characteristic of the Beqa Valley of Lebanon (Fig. 9; Metzger 1993: Pl. 117). These vessels' closed forms suggest that they served for the heating of liquids. Since they seem to be lacking in the southern Levant and are common in the Beqa Valley, they would appear to reflect a local, or more northern, food-preparing tradition. This too can be viewed as having an acculturative resonance.

Ground Stone (Mainly Basalt)

The ground stone assemblage shows a wide variety of types used in food preparation, industry, and crafts (a substantial sample was obtained from the metallurgy area in B-west). As noted above, grindstones and mortar-and-pestle assemblages occur at a frequency of one, rarely two, per household. No larger groupings have been found yet. This suggests a household mode of production in all phases, despite evidence for growing specialization and centralization. Moreover, such groupings suggest discrete household units (cf. Pfälzner 1996) though ground stone tool sets, in themselves, cannot determine whether we are talking about nuclear or extended families.

Fragments of ground stone turned up in many rooms, often as building material in secondary use (pit, wall and bench construction, floor paving). Since they show no discernible patterning, I have concluded that these are of little use in reconstructing activity areas or family organization.

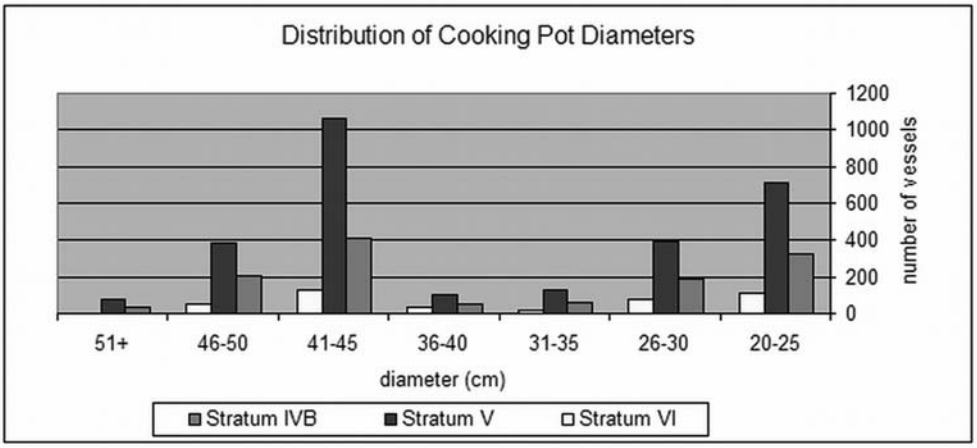


Figure 8. A graph showing cooking pot diameters by stratum. Note the bimodal distribution and the changes from Stratum VI through Stratum IVB.

Chipped Stone (Flint)

Chipped stone occurs in the Iron I levels in three categories: (a) ad hoc tools on blades, flakes, and cores (Matskevich forthcoming), (b) reused, scavenged Neolithic blades and flakes, and (c) specialized sickle blades of the classic trapezoidal form, usually bearing silica sheen (Rosen 1997: 55–60).

Given the limitations of space, I would elect to highlight only a large group of tools and debitage recovered in a defined space, approximately 2 m × 2 m, in Area B-west—the metallurgy area (Ilan 1999: 105–107). It consists mainly of sickle blades in various states of wear and appears to be a sickle-manufacturing spot, much like the one identified in a contemporaneous level at Gezer (S. A. Rosen 1986). Many of the blades have been broken and recycled.

Faunal Remains

The archaeozoological work carried out mainly by Wapnish (1993) and Wapnish and Hesse (1991) is invaluable for the reconstruction of social processes. This work is ongoing, but for the present, their conclusions can be summarized as follows:

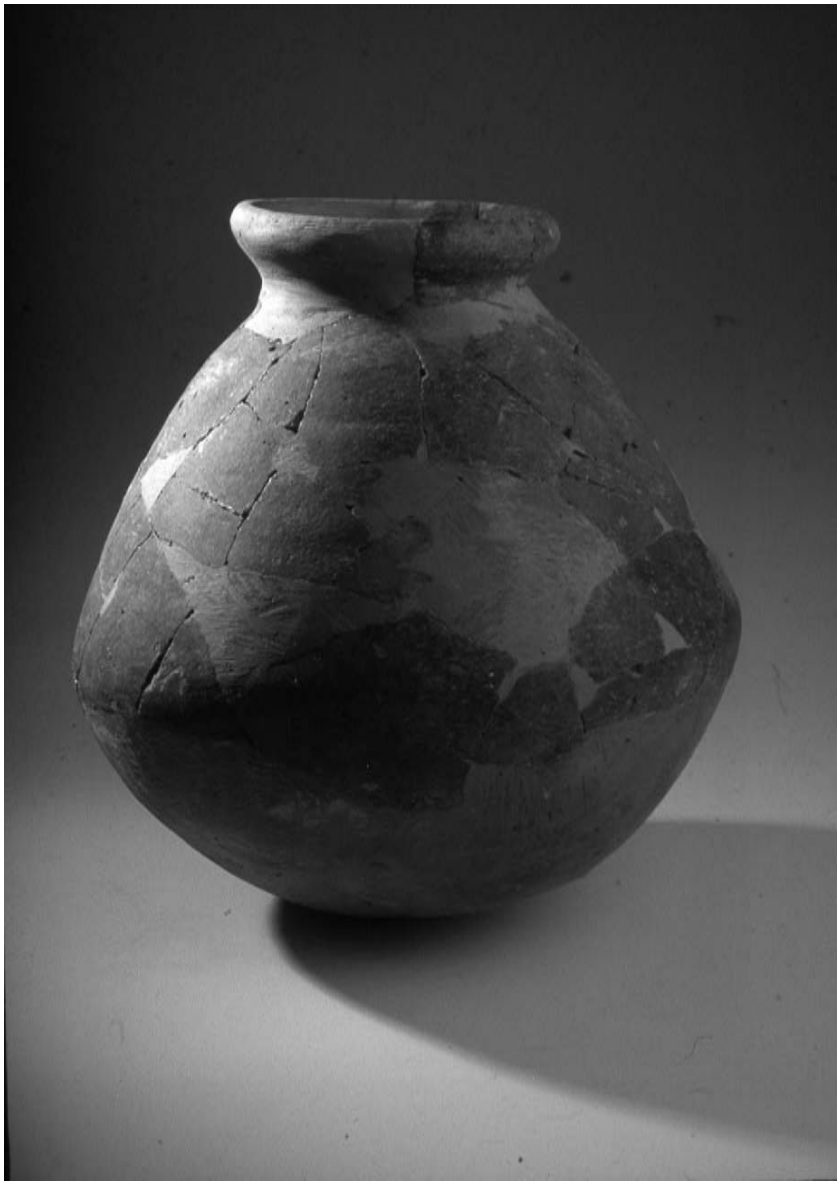


Figure 9. A handle-less cooking jug from Locus 3114 at Tel Dan. This type is characteristic of the Lebanese Beqa Valley and probably has group-identity implications.

- In all periods, cattle are present in significant proportions. This indicates that much of the meat eaten was beef, but, more importantly, that plow agriculture was always an important component in the local economy.
- The relative abundance of cattle changed over time. In the Late Bronze Age half of the animals slaughtered were cattle. In the early phases of the Iron I (Stratum VI) only 17% of the slaughtered animals were cattle, but by Strata V and IVB cattle once again achieved proportions of ca. 50% of the slaughtered animals. This is held to signify changes in the relative importance of plow agriculture and attendant emphasis on land ownership as opposed to livestock.
- Amongst the ovicaprid population, sheep are generally twice as frequent as goats. Goats are generally seen as more subsistence-oriented animals while sheep are more market oriented, producing more in the way of secondary products (especially wool).
- In contrast to Stratum VI, Stratum V and IVB show that a greater proportion of the ovicaprids were slaughtered in their second year rather than in the first. With regard to sheep and goat, a greater emphasis on meat consumption, rather than secondary products, can be inferred.[3] This may be the result of either or both of two mechanisms: local producers shifted their emphasis to meat, or meat was being brought in from outside sources. The second alternative is to be preferred because of the following:
- In Strata VI and VIIA the proportions of offal remains indicate that beef was acquired through middlemen while sheep and goat were slaughtered and butchered in the dwelling units. In Strata IVB and V, the proportions are the opposite: sheep and goat meat were acquired from outside sources and cattle were butchered in the home. The community had become more economically specialized.
- Other animals are represented to a lesser degree and comprised a dietary supplement, gazelle and fallow deer in particular. Some fish bones were also recovered, which is not surprising considering the proximity to Lake Hula and the large fountain of the Dan River.

[3] Generally, when secondary products are given preference, most male ovicaprids are slaughtered when they reach maximal growth, i.e., at 6–12 months. This is the main meat supply. If more animals are being slaughtered at more advanced ages (but not as *very* old animals), this is an indication that they are being kept and marketed over the longer term for their meat (e.g., Gamble 1982: 162–163; Wapnish 1993: 431).

- Equid bones are very rare. Two individuals come from doubtful Area K contexts, both apparently domestic donkey. Four bones, apparently of horse (*Equus caballus*), came from what are probably Stratum IVB contexts in Area B-west. The obvious conclusion is that equid meat was not consumed as food.
- Unlike the MB and LB faunal assemblage, the Iron I material exhibits no remains of pig. This may be the result of cultural selection, perhaps reflecting an early form of the biblical injunction against the consumption of pork (Lev. 11: 7; Deut. 16: 8), though there are also practical reasons for excluding pigs from a husbandry regime, particularly if protein is easily available from other sources (Hesse and Wapnish 1998: 125).

Overall, the archaeozoological remains evince processes of evolving social complexity, increasing emphasis on land ownership (more cattle), economic specialization (more sheep for wool), and greater affluence (more meat consumption).

Archaeobotanical Remains

Carbonized grain was identified in three separate contexts. Lentils and chickpeas have also been noted provisionally. Olive pits were present in most rooms and courtyards. Obviously, oil production was an important part of the Iron I economy, but why are olive pits distributed so evenly, in so many places, but in small quantities? At least three interpretations are possible:

- Olive oil was produced within the confines of the settlement in installations that have gone unrecognized. Perhaps olive oil was produced on a small scale in mortars and large basalt bowls.
- Olives were being cured or pickled at this time and the pits are eating refuse.
- Residual pulp, including pits, from the pressing process was brought into the village as fuel for ovens and metal furnaces.

We cannot reject any of these scenarios at present; perhaps all are true.

Most of the charcoal that derives from Iron I contexts is oak, either *Quercus boissieri* or *Quercus ithaburensis*. However, some *Pistacia*

atlantica is also present. Today, too, these are the most commonplace timber species in this region. The lack of *Quercus calliprinos, Pinus*, Cedrus and *Plantanus orientalis* is rather conspicuous. Pine and cedar forests may have been too distant at this time to have been utilized. *Quercus calliprinos* and plane trees may have been deforested or deemed inferior.

Conclusion: Archaeological Reflections of Habitus from Early to Late Iron I

Wilk and Rathje (1982) have identified four primary household functions: production, distribution, transmission, and reproduction (Foster 2009: 81 ff. adds consumption). Needless to say, these functions are all in evidence at Tel Dan; I will discuss selected aspects only.

In Wilk and Rathje's (1982) terminology, most of the productive labor in evidence in the dwellings of Iron I Tel Dan was linear (that is, individuals carry out multiple tasks, one after the other). The density and segmentation of the later two strata is a reflection of this.[4] Simultaneous tasks (i.e., those intensive jobs that require many hands) would have been carried out elsewhere, such as agricultural work in the fields (e.g., harvest) and perhaps ceramic production in an as yet unknown workshop. The small dwelling units of Strata V and IVB suggest small households and a corresponding dearth of complex simultaneous labor (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 623–624; Faust 1999a: 243–246).

Craft production—recycling metallurgy being the most conspicuous example—seems to have been initially practiced redundantly in a number of architectural units throughout the tell (Ilan 1999: 125–131). By Stratum IVB, however, it appears to have been confined to one group of insulae, Area B-west. This suggests increased specialization, with the attending increase in the specialization of architecture (Kent 1990b: 128 and the following discussion of Category III and IV societies). Households that specialize are often property-less households. This is largely due to land being too scarce to be transmitted by partible inheritance. When land is scarce it is most often transferred to

[4] The fragments of architecture in Strata VIIA and VI do not allow a reconstruction of structure size or subdivision. It is only clear that architecture was more sparsely arrayed at this stage.

one son as an impartible package. Family members who cannot inherit land either receive something else instead (a house or some other form of capital), find a new means of making a living (e.g., craft specialization), or leave the household to seek their fortune elsewhere (Goody 1969, 1972; Wilk and Rathje 1982: 628).

The present investigation has confirmed that "studies of the mutual interaction between people and their physical surroundings should incorporate a dynamic and a temporal perspective" (Lawrence 1990: 90–91; cf. Kent 1990a: 4–5). Changes in architecture and in the distribution of mobile and immobile artifacts over time represent social and political changes, in the present case from a more communal, corporate group organization to a more nucleated, specialized, hierarchical system. As Kent (1990b: 128) puts it: "cross-cultural research suggests that the complexity of a group's cultural material and behavior depends on the sociopolitical complexity of its culture. Societies with a more segmented and differentiated culture (i.e., with sociopolitical stratification, hierarchies, rigid division of labor, and/or economic specialization) will tend to use more segmented activity areas. They also will use more segmented cultural material or partitioned architecture, functionally discrete objects, and gender-restricted items" (cf. Donley-Reid 1990: 124).

Certain elements, particularly those concerning food preparation, metallurgy, and even ceramic traditions, suggest processes of acculturation. Few societies live in true isolation and Tel Dan of the Iron Age I was most probably a collective of people with several different geographic and ethnic places of origin (Ilan 1999: 208–210; for the implications of acculturation on the archaeological record, see, for example, Kent 1983b; Wilk 1990).

If habitus is defined as a system of durable and transposable "dispositions" (lasting, acquired schemes of perception, thought, and action) developed by individual agents in response to determining structures, such as class, family, education, and external conditions (what Bourdieu [1977] would call "fields"), we may turn to the archaeological remains in an explicit attempt to discern expressions of habitus in Iron Age I Tel Dan. The recurring phenomena summarized in the above sections suggest the following dispositions, expressed from an emic point of view (again, this is not an exhaustive list):

- Our doorways are best located in corners rather than the midpoints of walls. This is a means of providing privacy, or, at least, of reducing visibility of room contents (for discussion of sightlines

and privacy at Early Bronze Age Myrtos, Crete, cf. Sanders 1990: 60–63).

- We preferred open spaces and more expansive rooms and houses in Stratum VI, but in Strata V and IVB greater density is an acceptable price to pay for greater affluence and social mobility. If you don't like it, go live in a village near the swamps or in the highlands (Ilan 1999: Chapters 4–7).
- Households require a prescribed set of tools (grindstones, mortars, *tabun* ovens, a pit) but not in multiples; i.e., communal processing is not the rule, and we are self-sufficient.
- Upper portions of broken pithoi make good cooking ranges; they can serve as latrines as well. Cooking pots break a lot, but the large fragments are useful; we save them for their insulation and refraction properties when used in the fabrication of furnaces and ovens.
- Years ago, in Stratum VI, we stored our grain in pit fields among or proximate to our corporate group residences. In Strata V and IVB, we transferred grain to communal, centralized storage (etic question: is this voluntary or coerced?). Improved security has made this possible (Ilan 2008).
- We don't keep or eat pigs as a rule. We can get our protein from ovicaprids and cattle and their milk; these animals also provide important secondary products. Pigs aren't worth the trouble they cause.
- The dead must be disposed of outside settlement limits. Their remains should decompose and they require no grave goods of a lasting nature. You can't take it with you.

The above patterns can also be seen as part of what Giddens (e.g., 1979: 206–210) would term the "form of structuration" wherein practices both acquire and create symbolic meanings that inform, produce, and reproduce power relations. These meanings can be elaborated hypothetically, in more detail, but this will be done elsewhere. For the present, we can summarize power relations by claiming that in the early Iron I the corporate group household was largely autonomous (cf. Faust 2000), but by the late Iron I certain fields of power, such as commodity storage, distribution, and exchange, had been ceded to suprahousehold authority. This trend would continue and become stronger in the succeeding Iron Age II (Strata IVA and after) when Tel Dan became an important, highly specialized ritual center.

In essence then, the sequence at Iron Age I Tel Dan appears to show a transition from corporate group village organization, comprising what Faust (2000: 32) would call a "communal village" characterized by extended family residence, to a town fabric where nuclear families were more the order of the day (Faust 1999a and further references there).

Notwithstanding the manifestations of greater centralization and changing power relations from the Late Bronze Age through to end of the Iron Age I, the underlying structure of social relations remained organized on the basis of what David Schloen has termed the Patrimonial Household Model (PHM), whereby,

> the entire social order is viewed as an extension of the ruler's household—and ultimately of the god's household. The social order consists of a hierarchy of subhouseholds linked by personal ties at each level between individual "master" and "slaves" or "fathers" and "sons." There is no global distinction between the private and "public" sectors of society because governmental administration is effected through personal relationships on the household model rather than through an impersonal bureaucracy. Likewise, there is no fundamental structural difference between the "urban" and "rural" components of society, because political authority and economic dependency are everywhere patterned according to the household model, so that the entire social order is vertically integrated throughout dyadic relationships that link the ruling elite in the sociocultural "center" to their subordinates in the "periphery." (Schloen 2001: 51)

Iron Age I Tel Dan shows many of the features outlined by Schloen, including the essential agrarian underpinnings that characterized Levantine society in antiquity, even in towns and cities. It will be interesting to investigate the workings of the PHM model in Iron Age II Tel Dan, when the place became a regional, and perhaps national, cult center. But again, this is a topic to be explicated elsewhere.

HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS IN SETTLEMENTS ALONG THE YARKON RIVER, ISRAEL, DURING THE IRON AGE I: SOCIETY, ECONOMY, AND IDENTITY

Yuval Gadot

Introduction

Excavating households and dwellings offers a unique opportunity to inquire into the lives and habits of the voiceless segments of society—individuals and social groups who left behind no written documents. The approach that sees material culture as a nonverbal means of communication, claiming that everyday architecture and tools are all symbolically charged (Tilley 1993: 7; Buchli 1995; Johnson 1999: 103–108; Hodder and Huston 2003: 6–15, 166–170), allows one to search for economic, social, and symbolic choices that have been embedded in the material culture. This notion is especially appealing when analyzing Iron Age I living quarters in settlements along the Yarkon River, in Israel's central Coastal Plain, which was, during this period (mainly the Yarkon-Ayalon catchment area) [Fig. 1]), an acknowledged ethnic and cultural borderland[1] (Faust 2006: Fig. 19.5) between more ethnically and politically consolidated regions located to the south (Philistines), north (Canaanites), and east (Israelites) (Singer 1985, 1994).

The Iron Age I is often viewed as a formative period for the cultures that dominated the Land of Israel for hundreds of years. Questions relating to the ethnic and political borders dividing the land have received much scholarly attention (e.g., Dever 1995; Finkelstein 1996; Killebrew 2006; Faust 2006: 20–28 and more literature there). Answering these questions based on historical sources—the biblical narrative being the most notable of them—has been limited to investigating the social ranks and geographic zones (i.e., the southern Coastal Plain or the Samarian Highlands) that are described in these sources. However, the written documents do not disclose the ethnic identity of the

[1] For a discussion of the term ethnicity, see below.

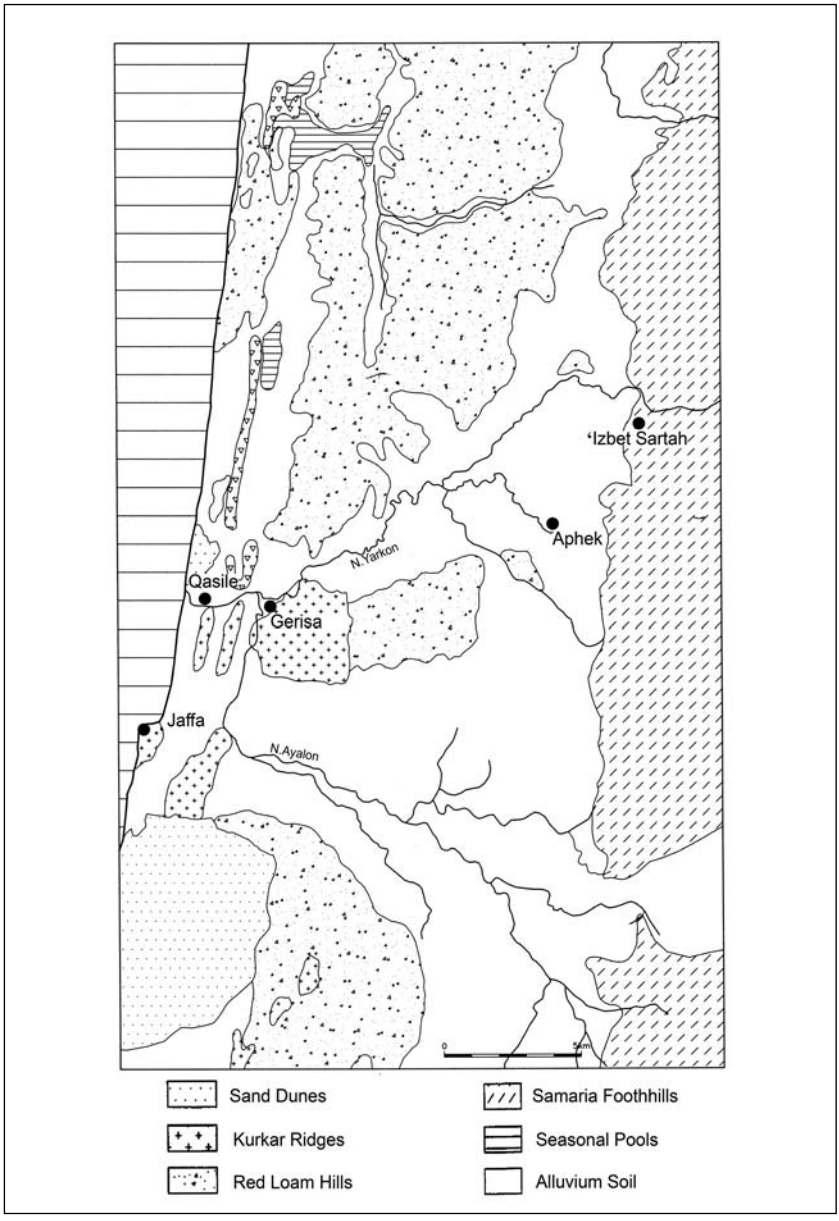


Figure 1. Map with settlements discussed.

population living in border regions like the central Coastal Plain and it is difficult to reveal the center that dominated it (Gadot 2006, 2008).

Most scholars will agree that the three abovementioned cultures, Canaanite, Israelite, and Philistine, were at one point autonomous and maintained clear geographic and social borders (Faust 2006: 145). Moreover, the emergence of the Israelite, neo-Canaanite, and local Philistine identities was the result of their temporal and regional coexistence (Faust 2006: 147–148; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2006: 422). Nevertheless, in excavations conducted at four major sites dating to the Iron Age I and located along the Yarkon, domestic quarters unearthed together with other items of material culture show a mix of cultural traits. Being aware that this area functioned as a frontier and a borderland between three autonomous cultures, it is the aim of this article to use the material culture of the region with its many cultural traits as a replacement for the missing written documents (see Hodder 1977, 1985; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Frankel 2003: 40–41 on material culture and frontier societies). An analysis of households[2] will be presented in order to reconstruct the economic and social order typifying the region. This reconstruction will subsequently serve as a base for gaining insights into the ideological realm and the identity of the population (Lightfoot et al. 1998): Did the population share a monolithic ethnic identity or was the region multicultural? Was the area ruled by an entity of a single ethnicity? Finally, did the material culture—particularly that of the household—play an active role in the negotiation between the three cultural entities that coexisted in the region? If so, what was this role?

Theoretical Background

Domestic Architecture and Social and Ethnic Identity

Near Eastern archaeological research has gone a long way since the naïve perception of a straightforward relationship between variations in material culture in general and architectural layout of domestic buildings specifically, and ethnic identity (e.g., Shiloh 1970). It seems

[2] For a definition of the term household, see below.

that the traditional approach applied for recognizing the population's identity is based too much on colonial perspectives of ethnicity, nationalism, and identity (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 472–474). Alternatively, most scholars today acknowledge the fluidity of the term and the varied and complex way in which ethnic identity is expressed and maintained through material culture (Shennan 1989: 1; Jones 1997; Frankel 2003). Especially challenging is the understanding of the role of material culture in constructing ethnic identity in "encounter" zones such as borderlands and frontiers (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998). Hodder has convincingly shown that material culture is used as an ethnic marker in cultural frontiers only at times when the ethnic identity is under threat (Hodder 1977, 1985). At times of clear ethnic and social boundaries, when there is no danger of assimilation, there is also no fear concerning the adoption of the material culture of neighboring groups (see, also, Frankel 2003 and more references there).

One mode that may help in deciphering ancient social and ethnic identities is to view and analyze the built environment and routine behavior occurring within it. Following P. Bourdieu notion of the "Habitus" (Bourdieu 1977), a growing number of scholars assume that the use of domestic space and everyday activities are molded and organized by sets of ideas, values, and perceptions held by members of society in general and, specifically, by the occupants of the buildings. Therefore, not only does routine behavior reflect social values and ideas, but it also plays an active part in the transmission of values and ideas from one generation to the next.

In recent decades, archaeological and anthropological research has shown that analyzing the built environment (Rapoport 1969; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Banning and Byrd 1989; Byrd 1994, 2000; Steadman 1996) and the spatial distribution of manmade artifacts (Kent 1984, 1990c; Lightfoot et al. 1998) may open a window for us into the social and ideological realm of ancient societies.

Basing their interpretations on ethnographic and archaeological case studies, Near Eastern archaeologists and others have studied domestic architecture and the spatial distribution of artifacts for functional analyses of space usage (e.g., Daviau 1993; Singer-Avitz 1996); for recognizing social ranks (e.g., Wason 1994; Blanton 1995); for engendering activities and spaces (Allison 1999a, 2004; Sorensen 2007: 144–166; Meyers 2003a; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006); for determining patterns of family size and nature (Stager 1985a; Faust 1999a; Schloen

2001); and for distinguishing cosmological and symbolic perceptions (e.g., Faust 2001; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a, 2003b). Processual archaeology studies were aimed at recognizing patterns and rules that may be applied cross-culturally (see, for example, Banning and Byrd 1989, for the development of private spaces vis-à-vis the emergence of social complexity). In more recent literature, the uniqueness of each case and the limits of cross-cultural generalizations have been emphasized (Wason 1994; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994a; Blanton 1995). It is clear that the domestic units presented below will be analyzed within their social, political, and economic context; but while recognizing this latter development, I do not advocate abandoning insights gained by the Processual school of thought altogether. Generalizations and cross-cultural patterns that can be recognized should be used as guidelines, to which specific case studies can then be compared and analyzed.

Building, Households, and Families

The term "house" refers to an architectural unit, while the term "household" describes a basic unit of economic and social cooperation (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 620; Blanton 1994: 5). The two terms do not necessarily refer to the same physical structure. There are a number of cases in which a household is dispersed across a number of dwellings and other cases in which a single dwelling serves as a house for more than one household (see examples and definitions in Laslett 1972; Schloen 2001: Chapter 7). The third term, the "family," is an ambiguous social term (Laslett 1972: 23–24). Here, too, the term does not necessarily overlap with the other two terms: household can include a nuclear family (conjugal pair and their young), an extended family (or, as it traditionally termed *beit ʾav*: Stager 1985a; Schloen 2001) or even a "houseful" (including servants or agricultural workers who join the family (Laslett 1972: 36).

Method

From the literature on social values as embedded in architectural style and layout (presented above), I formed two lists of variables to use in the analysis. The first relates to the single house while the second relates to intra-site analysis and relations between houses.

The first group of variables includes the following:

1. *Building techniques and materials:* Building materials used for the construction of walls and floors. Do differences in the material chosen for construction signify social rank and economic stratification?
2. *Building size:* External measurements of the buildings, the net floor area, and, when possible, the courtyard area. These will be examined in order to see whether differences in building sizes indicate differences in wealth or family size.
3. *Orientation:* The orientation of building entrances and walls. Can a pattern in the way entrances are being oriented be recognized? Is there a direction that is systematically avoided? Orientation has both functional (for example wind direction) and symbolic meaning (Faust 2001). Observing a pattern in the way the houses are arranged or, alternatively, observing a direction that is systematically avoided may help in recognizing symbolic choices that a certain group shares.
4. *Courtyard location:* The courtyard's location, whether exterior or interior. In the case of an inner courtyard, its place in relation to the house will be considered as well. Is it in front of the house or in its back? Courtyard location, whether private or public and whether in front of the house or in its back, has been used by scholars to discuss the degree of group solidarity and stratification, degree of social control, and the development of the family as a socioeconomic unit (Byrd 1994; and see further below).
5. *Complexity, internal division, and syntax:* The number of rooms/spaces within the building and the connections in between different subspaces and between the subspaces and the courtyard. The division of space within the building and the accessibility between the different subspaces has proven important for deciphering the conception of what a house should look like, how it should function, and how and to whom it should be accessible (Hillier and Hanson 1984).

The second group of variables includes the following:

1. *Location within the settlement:* The location of the building on the site. Is the building located in the center of the site or in its

periphery, and on high or low grounds in relation to other buildings at the site?
2. *Relations with other buildings:* The building's physical relation to neighboring buildings. Do buildings share common yards or party walls? Do they form part of a preplanned quarter?
3. *Uniformity in architectural layout:* Uniformity of plan between buildings or lack thereof in a given settlement.

The Yarkon Region: Environment and Settlement History

Israel's central Coastal Plain is dominated by two rivers—the Yarkon and the Ayalon—that merge into one three kilometers before they empty into the sea (Fig. 1; Guy 1954; Avitsur 1957; Grober 1969; Gadot 2006). The environmental habitats created by them, especially by the Yarkon River, had a strong influence on the social history of the region. The Yarkon River cuts across the Coastal Plain, east to west, draining rainwater from the Samarian Hills and from the rich springs of Aphek. Avnimelech investigated the geological history of the river (1949) and was able to demonstrate that, although some changes did occur in the channel through which the river flowed, these were limited to its western opening into the sea, which was constantly blocked by drifting sand. Other than that, the Yarkon's channel was located in antiquity roughly where it is located today. It is therefore safe to assume that the settlements investigated here were heavily influenced by the environment created by the course of the river as it runs today. As it has a low gradient, the Yarkon's course is serpentine, and the water that flows at a slight incline toward the hard *kurkar* hills, located just off the shore, forms large seasonal pools and swamps.

Past research of the settlement history along the Yarkon viewed the river as a source of livelihood (Mazar [Maisler] 1951: 62; Mazar 1980: 4; Avigad 1970: 576; Herzog 1993: 480). Except for water and arable land, the river's estuary also offered shelter for boats traveling along the seacoast and an inland trade route for merchants transferring goods to Jerusalem (Mazar [Maisler] 1951: 62–63; 1983: 12–13; Avitsur 1957: 122). However, these favorable conditions are only part of the story. During times when there was no management of water resources, swamps and seasonal pools quickly formed, disease spread, and the land became a virtual wasteland. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the settlement history along the river is characterized

by cyclical shifts between periods of strong and integrated social power and periods during which the area became a frontier zone and a home for pastoral groups and other marginal elements of society (Gadot 2006, 2008, forthcoming). An example of the latter came at the end of the thirteenth century BCE, following a long period of Egyptian dominance, when the region became a frontier zone. It was during this time that the Philistines took advantage of the absence of a central governing power and the ensuing social fragmentation within the region, and exploited this area for their economic needs. This is reflected mainly by a shift in the settlement pattern in the region and by the appearance of Philistine-related Bichrome pottery at all sites dated to this time. Based on material culture studies, we know that the Philistines initially immigrated only to the southern Coastal Plain, to places like Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron, and only later, after a few decades, did they turn their attention to areas surrounding their new homeland, like the Yarkon region (Singer 1985; Mazar 1985a; Stager 1995; Gadot 2006). It should be noted, in light of the above discussion of ethnicity in "encounter" zones, that the political and economic dominance of the Philistines over the region does not necessarily mean that the population was ethnically "Philistine." In order to determine the population's ethnic identity, many components constituting the material culture of the region must be considered, among them houses and the way they were used.

The Sites

This analysis focuses on four excavated sites dating to the timeframe of the present inquiry and situated along the Yarkon River:

Tell Qasile: Located two kilometers east of the seashore, Tell Qasile was first excavated by B. Mazar (Mazar [Maisler] 1951; Dothan and Dunayevsky 1993), who excavated Areas A and B located on the southern and western slopes of the mound. A second expedition to the site was headed by A. Mazar (Mazar 1980, 1985b, 1986; Mazar and Harpazi-Ofer 1994), who excavated Area C located on the top of the tell. Most of the known domestic structures come from Area A, where an east–west street was unearthed that was flanked by houses on both sides. Stratigraphically, the houses belong to Stratum X (Fig. 2; Dothan and Dunayesvky 1993: 1205; Mazar 2009: Figs. 1, 3), although some houses were first built in Stratum XI. Unfortunately, Area A has



Figure 2. Plan of Tel Qasile stratum X (after Mazar 2009: Figure 1).

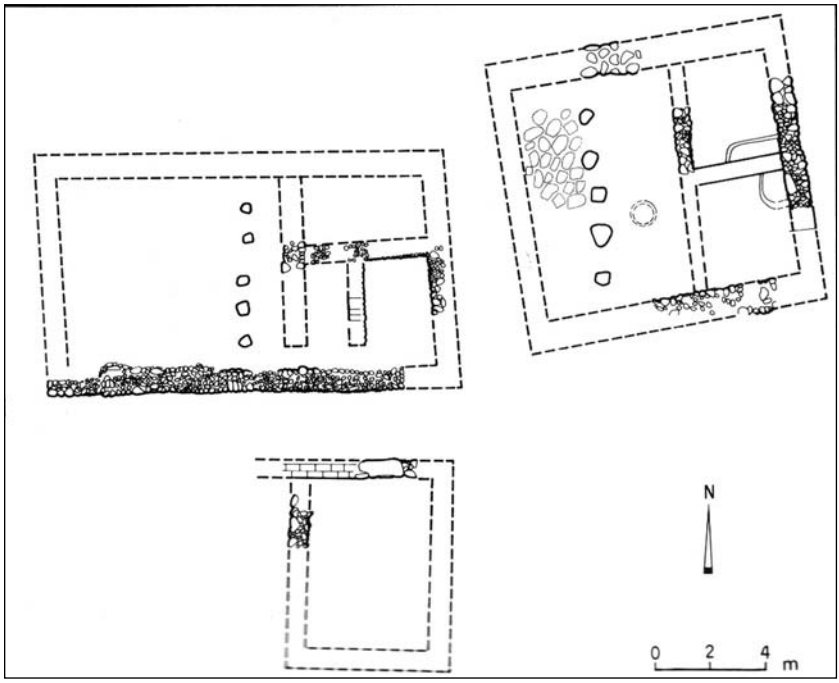


Figure 3. Aphek Stratum X11: the northwestern quarter.

only been published in a preliminary fashion that deals mainly with the architecture; the material culture was never published in a manner that allows for a spatial analysis of human behavior. Additional domestic structures were found in Area C, where they were dated to Strata XII, XI, and X (Mazar 2009: 320, Fig. 6). In all, seven complete houses from Tell Qasile were analyzed in the present study.

Tel Gerisa: This site is located on a projecting *kurkar* hill, near the point where the Ayalon and Yarkon Rivers merge a few kilometers to the east of Tell Qasile. The tell has two summits with a relatively low saddle between them. Substantial architecture dating to the Iron Age I was found on the southern summit (Area B) by Z. Herzog, the excavator of the site (Herzog 1993, 1997; Herzog and Tsuk 1995). These remains have been published only in a preliminary fashion (Herzog 1993: 483). Hence, the two houses reported from Tel Gerisa are mentioned below but are not analyzed in detail.

Tel Aphek: The site of Aphek is located near the rich springs of Aphek, the main source of water for the Yarkon River (Kochavi 1989a). Remains dating to the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age transition

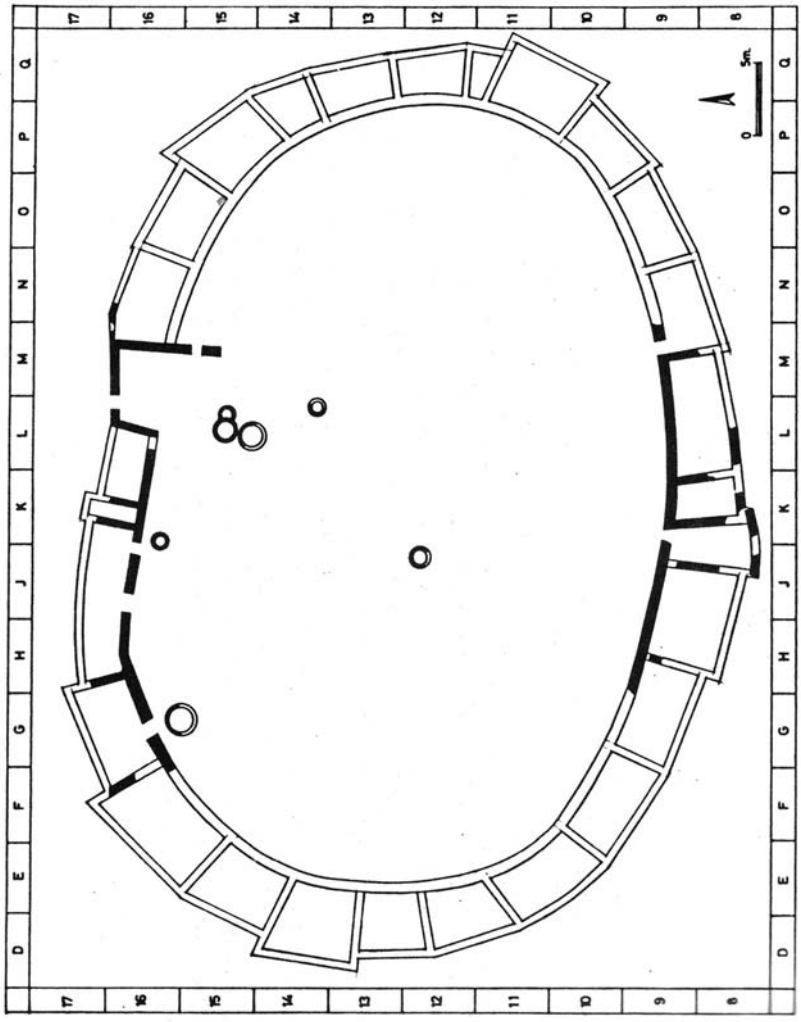


Figure 4. Plan of ʻIzbet Ṣartah stratum III (after Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 26).

(Stratum X11) and to the Iron Age I (Strata X10–X9) were found only in Area X, located on the upper tell (Gadot 2006, 2009b). The earlier stratum includes two domestic quarters (Gadot 2009b: Figs. 6.1, 6.2). In the later stratum a small farmstead was excavated. The finds include a domestic structure and a large open space next to it, probably used as a threshing floor (Gadot 2006, 2009b: Fig. 6.6). Both strata were abandoned and therefore very few finds were recovered *in situ*. For the present study, two houses from Stratum. X11 were scrutinized. The single domestic unit from Strata X10–X9 is mentioned only briefly.

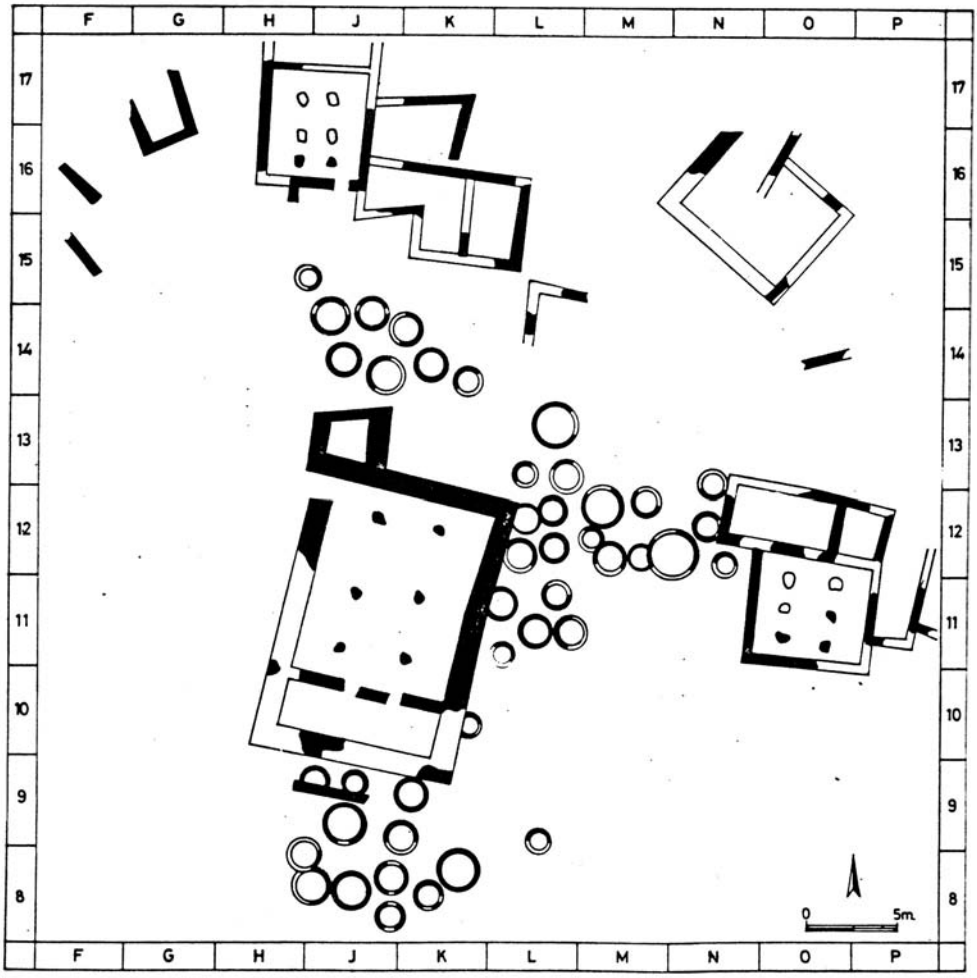


Figure 5. Plan of ʿIzbet Ṣartah stratum II (after Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 27).

ʿIzbet Ṣartah: The site of ʿIzbet Ṣartah is located along the fringes of the Coastal Plain and the Samaria Highlands (Finkelstein 1986). Traditionally, the site has been interpreted as an example of the Israelite settlement in the hill country (Finkelstein 1988; Mazar 1990: 335). However, the proximity of the site to the Coastal Plain, particularly to Aphek, suggests that the inhabitants of ʿIzbet Ṣartah shared economic and social traits with their western neighbors. I have therefore included this site as part of this analysis, regardless of the presumed cultural identity of its inhabitants.

Two main phases of occupation were recognized at ʿIzbet Ṣartah. In Stratum III a large central open courtyard was surrounded by small domestic buildings (Fig. 4; Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 26). The second settlement (Strata II and I) was composed of at least three "four-room houses," or "pillar houses," as they were named recently (Mazar 2009: 324), with many silos between them. One of the houses was located at the center of the site and is considerably larger than the other buildings, numbering at least two clusters (Fig. 5; Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 27).

Discussion

A holistic archaeological approach demands that both the architecture and the artifacts located in primary contexts be considered together. Unfortunately, from the four sites used in this investigation, only at ʿIzbet Ṣartah Strata II–I is a holistic analysis possible. Aphek and Tel Gerisa were abandoned in antiquity and no finds were recovered in primary contexts, and most of the artifacts from Tel Gerisa and some from Tell Qasile have not yet been published. Therefore, the discussion below will focus mainly on the architectural layout of the buildings and their location within the settlement. My analysis of human behavior will be drawn mostly by examining installations and the selected artifacts that have been published to date.

The discussion is divided chronologically. I will first discuss houses and households dating to the LBIII/Iron I period (Table 1). This will be followed by a discussion of living quarters in settlements dating to the Iron Ib period (Tables 2 and 3).[3]

Table 1 presents the available data concerning buildings identified as houses found in strata dating to the transitional phase between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. It includes two sites: The first is ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III where a circumferential belt of houses encloses a courtyard (Finkelstein 1986: 106–108, Fig. 4); Excavations at the site exposed parts of at least five houses that are all very similar in their size and nature. House 2007 is the better-preserved example and it was therefore chosen for analysis below as a representative example. The second site is Aphek Stratum X11 where two living quarters were

[3] The separation into two tables is merley technical, as the houses in Tell Qasile (Table 3) are compared with other coexisting houses presented in Table 2.

Table 1. Houses dating to the Late Bronze Age–Iron Age transition

	ʿIzbet Ṣartah III[4]	Aphek X11: northwestern quarter[5]
Building techniques and materials	One row of fieldstone foundations and mudbricks; the bedrock serves as the floor	Two rows of fieldstone foundations; floors either paved or of packed earth
Building size	Building 2007: exterior dimensions: 7 m × 5 m; net floor area: 25–30 m^2	Building 2942: exterior dimensions: 9.5 m × 7.5 m; net floor area: 48 m^2; front courtyard area: 30 m^2
Orientation	The opening faces the courtyard with no special orientation	The openings face north and east
Courtyard location	One central shared courtyard: 1450 m^2	Inner courtyard located in the front part of the house; large exterior public piazza of unknown dimensions
Complexity, internal division, and syntax	Single space and shared courtyard	Interior division into three spaces; back rooms accessible from the courtyard
Location in the settlement	Located on the perimeter of a hill	Built on top of a hill
Relations with other buildings	Houses share party walls	Houses do not share party walls, but are built next to each other
Uniformity in architectural layout	The houses are uniform in plan, but differ in size	The outer plan of the houses is uniform, but the interior divisions differ from house to house

unearthed—the southeastern and northwestern—separated by a public piazza. The preservation of the southeastern quarter is too fragmentary to be analyzed and I shall therefore focus on the northwestern quarter only. Here, two buildings were excavated with similar dimensions. The plan of House 2942 is more complete between the two existing plans and was therefore chosen for analysis.

The two sites compared are spatially proximate to each other and probably coexisted in time, but there are marked differences in the settlement plan and the construction of domestic units. Single houses at Aphek are more complex in plan, with three internal spaces, compared to one in ʿIzbet Ṣartah; they have interior, private courtyards, while at ʿIzbet Ṣartah there is only one, exterior, shared courtyard; and they are well built with paved floors and relatively thick walls

[4] Based on Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 3.
[5] Based on Gadot 2009b: Fig. 6.1.

Table 2. Houses dating to the Iron Age I

	ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I[6]	Aphek X10–X9[7]	Tel Gerisa[8]
Building techniques and materials	Most houses have wall foundations built of one row of unworked fieldstones. The bedrock serves as floor. Building 109 stands out in its overall size and the width of its walls	Wall foundations are made of one row of unworked fieldstones; packed-earth floors	Wall foundations are made of unworked fieldstones
Building size	Building 109: exterior dimensions: ca. 11.5 m × 16 m; net floor area: 120 m^2; Building 301: net floor area: 37.5 m^2; Building 916: net floor area: 51 m^2	Too fragmentary for reconstruction	Too fragmentary for reconstruction
Orientation	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear
Courtyard location	All three have an inner courtyard; a paved outer courtyard was found next to Building 109	Inner courtyard	Inner courtyards located at the front part of the house
Complexity, internal division, and syntax	Buildings divided into at least four rooms, accessed via a courtyard	Divided into at least three spaces; entrances cannot be reconstructed	Division into subspaces; entrance cannot be reconstructed
Location in the settlement	One building is at the center of the site; the other two are built on the mound's perimeter	Built on a hill, next to open grounds	Built on the top of the southern hill
Relations with other buildings	Most buildings are freestanding	Only one freestanding building found	Buildings are freestanding
Uniformity in architectural layout	Buildings share similar plan, but are not identical	Cannot be determined	Buildings are built according to different blueprints

that are not shared with neighboring buildings, as opposed to ʿIzbet Ṣartah's domestic units. At the same time, the living space inside the buildings is relatively similar at the two settlements (25–30 m^2 at ʿIzbet Ṣartah and 30 m^2 at Aphek). More differences can be noticed in the settlement's layout. While both sites have a public piazza/courtyard,

[6] Based on Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 4.
[7] Based on Gadot 2009b: Fig. 6.6.
[8] Based on Herzog 1993.

Table 3. Houses at Tell Qasile[9]

	Pillar houses: (Area A)	Pillar houses: (Area C)	Courtyard House O
Building techniques and materials	Fieldstones and mudbricks	Fieldstones and mudbricks; thick walls	Fieldstones and mudbricks
Building size	K: 9.1 m × 9.1 m; 51 m^2; J: 8.8 m × 10.1 m; 60 m^2; W: 9.1 m × 10.1 m; 77 m^2; R: 10.4 m × 9.9 m; 64 m^2	225: 8.5 m × 13.5 m; 77 m^2; 495: 10.7 m × 13.4 m; 92 m^2	12.5 m × 12.9 m; 139 m^2
Orientation	Entrance facing street	Entrance facing street	Entrance facing street
Courtyard location	Inner courtyard located in the front part of the house	Inner courtyard located in the front part of house	Inner courtyard located in the central part of house
Complexity, internal division, and syntax	Four spaces, all accessed via the courtyard	Four spaces, some not accessible from the courtyard	At least five spaces arranged around a courtyard
Location in the settlement	Built along a street on the southwestern slope of the hill	Built on top of the hill, close to the temple	Inside the settlement, between the temple and the pillar houses
Relations with other buildings	Buildings share party walls	Building 495 is separate from other buildings; Building 225 shares a party wall with the temple	Shares no walls with building W; shares one wall with building J
Uniformity in architectural layout	Buildings share a similar plan, but vary in sizes	Plans are similar in idea, but each building has some unique additions	Only one building

the buildings surrounding the unpaved courtyard at ʿIzbet Ṣartah are arranged in a standardized, almost rigid, plan; the Aphek piazza is stone paved, but the arrangement of the houses built close to it exhibits no apparent preplanning.

It seems that the differences in the layout of the two settlements and in the ground plan of the buildings derive from the significance given to the individual family in society and, consequently, to the individual building. At ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III the single house has very little significance in itself, and is only a component of the overall plan. Finkelstein has noted that the ratio between the public and private spaces at ʿIzbet Ṣartah is 65: 35 (Finkelstein 1986: 106). This means that a

[9] The information here is based on Mazar 2009: Tables 2, 3.

majority of the everyday activities were preformed out in the public realm, while considerably less space was allotted to the individual family. The preplanned settlement and the uniformity of its houses in size, plan, and construction quality show that the occupants of ʿIzbet Ṣartah formed a closely integrated social group, which suppressed the place of the individual family. Scholars studying the emergence of village society during the time of the Neolithic Revolution stress the move to autonomous households as one that bettered productivity, and lead to the creation of social stratification (e.g. Byrd 1994, 2000). The buildings at Aphek are organized as autonomous households. The architectural layout at ʿIzbet Ṣartah reflects an entirely different preference that emphasizes the public arena. According to the excavator (Finkelstein 1986: 106–109), the need for a large public courtyard was explained as reflecting economic or functional considerations. According to Finkelstein, the plan of the settlement proves that the site was occupied by pastoralists who had shifted to a sedentary lifestyle. The tent camp was replaced by stone-built houses that retained the former dwellings' tent-like shape (Finkelstein 1986: 116–121). The courtyard was used for penning the herds—sheep and goats or camels—at night. Finkelstein (1986: 118) notes that some pastoralists' camps were built along a linear axis, while others, like at ʿIzbet Ṣartah, enclosed a courtyard. The particular arrangement was explained by security needs, by the nature of the animals herded, or according to topographical considerations.

Apart from the courtyard's role in the survival strategy of the site's inhabitants, its public nature and the fact that most of the everyday activities were preformed there communally by members of the group point to the fact that the courtyard also played a significant role in regulating and maintaining social order and in the control of the individual by the larger group. The importance of public space for integrating and strengthening social bonds in villages that are based on autonomous households was mentioned by Byrd (Byrd 1994; see also Rosenberg and Redding 2000: 47–49). The layout of ʿIzbet Ṣartah, however, is a combination of a large public courtyard and a considerably small overall area of autonomous spaces. This meant that everyday activities, such as food preparation and consumption, were preformed in an open area. There was no escape from public scrutiny. The power of social surveillance of the ruling elite or of lower-ranking members of society is known as a key for regulating social order and

discipline (Yekutieli 2006 with further references there). Apparently, at ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III, social control was enabled by the fact that the daily routine of most inhabitants was carried out in the public realm.

The uniformity of the plan and the fact that the majority of finds from the site do not attest to accumulation of wealth make it tempting to suggest that the social structure as reflected in the architecture of ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III was egalitarian in nature. Indeed, Finkelstein associated the nature of the settlement at ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III with the nature of tribe-based nomadic societies (Finkelstein 1986: 116–121). This offer still remains tempting today but one should note that there are also examples of modern-day sedentary social groups that exercise control over the individual through public surveillance (see, for example, the relations between public and private spaces in the twentieth-century kibbutz in Israel; Tal 1994). It should also be noted that social ranks could have been manifested by age (elders) or by perishable artifacts, such as cloths and rugs that did not survive (Hodder 1982; Feinman 1995). Whether or not it can be determined that ʿIzbet Ṣartah was settled by a previously nomadic or sedentary population does not affect the conclusion that the public nature of the architecture reflects tight social control that was exercised over the family at ʿIzbet Ṣartah Stratum III by a strongly bonded social group. Since the enclosed courtyard is the most dominant architectural feature that shaped social interaction, I chose to denote this spatial and social settlement pattern "enclosed community" (see below). ʿIzbet Ṣartah is the only example of such a settlement type in the region under discussion.

The architectural nature of the settlement at Aphek (Stratum X11) is markedly different from that at ʿIzbet Ṣartah. While there is a public piazza where some ceremonial activities took place ensuring social integration (Byrd 1994), household activities were probably conducted in the privacy of the houses' inner courtyards. The location of two rooms in the back of the inner courtyard shows that access into these rooms was limited and controlled. Moreover, each building was built autonomously from the nearby building. The limited extent of the finds makes it possible only to suggest that the settlement at Aphek Stratum X11 resembles a typical household-based village.

Iron Age Ia and Ib are represented at all four sites under discussion (Fig. 1; Table 2). Both Tell Qasile Stratum X and ʿIzbet Ṣartah

Strata II–I are rather small, but at the same time complex settlements that exhibit clear intra-site socioeconomic ranking of domestic structures when these are analyzed spatially (Figs. 2 and 4). The sites of Aphek and Gerisa were occupied by much smaller settlements and include only one (Aphek) or two (Gerisa) houses surrounded by open grounds, which were used for fields or other agricultural purposes. It seems that these two sites should be interpreted as farmsteads and understood in relation to the two larger sites, ʿIzbet Ṣartah and Tell Qasile, which probably governed them economically and politically (Gadot 2006).

A striking phenomenon is that, in all four settlements, pillar houses seem to have been the most common house type. This type of house made its first appearance at sites located in the Shephelah and dated to the Late Bronze Age, (Mazar 2009: 332 and earlier literature there). During the Iron Age I, this house type became common across a large geographic area. Traditionally, the appearance of this house type was associated with the spread of the Israelites (e.g., Shiloh 1970; Finkelstein 1988: 254–259), but the vast geographical range in which these houses appear weakens any attempt to use them as ethnic markers (Finkelstein 1996; Routledge 2000: 64–65; Mazar 2009: 333–334; contra Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a, 2003b).

The appearance of pillar houses in the Coastal Plain seems to date to the second and later part of the Iron Age I, as they appear in Tell Qasile only in Stratum X, at Aphek in Stratum X9, and at ʿIzbet Ṣartah in Stratum II. It is therefore clear that the population of the Yarkon-Ayalon catchment chose to adopt, for various reasons, the widespread pillar house form as the local dwelling type. As I will argue below, however, it is the way in which the houses were adapted and integrated into the preexisting cultural concept of the built environment, and not the specific house form, that is most telling of the social and economical organization.

When comparing individual houses at all four sites, meaningful differences can be discerned in the size, complexity, and syntax of the houses:

Size: The smallest pillar houses are the peripheral houses at ʿIzbet Ṣartah. Their living surfaces range between 30 m^2 and 50 m^2. The remains of houses at Aphek and Gerisa are too scant to allow reconstruction, but they seem to fit into this category. The pillar houses in Area A at Tell Qasile are relatively larger and average around 64 m^2

in area. The pillar houses in Area C at Tell Qasile are more elaborate, with living spaces of 77 m^2 and 92 m^2. Mazar noticed that the pillar houses in Tell Qasile Area A are similar in their size to common urban pillar houses (Mazar 2009: 332). The largest pillar house is Building 109 at ʿIzbet Ṣartah (ca. 120 m^2 in area) comparable only to courtyard Building O at Tell Qasile (129 m^2; see discussion below). Note that the exterior dimensions of most of the houses are considerably smaller than those of LB urban courtyard houses (see Shai et al. this volume: Table 1).

Complexity and syntax (Fig. 6): Most pillar houses at Tell Qasile and at ʿIzbet Ṣartah are composed of three long spaces that are separated by pillars or solid walls and one or two back rooms. In most cases, the rooms of the house are approachable through the central long space.

Two meaningful exceptions can be seen in the ground plan of Building 225 (Tell Qasile) and Building 109 (ʿIzbet Ṣartah). In Building 225 there are two back rooms (Rooms 168 and 171). Only Room 168 is accessible from the main entrance space, while Room 171, which was probably used for living (Mazar 1980: 45), could be accessed only from Room 168. Building 109 has a more complex plan than any of the other pillar houses. This is especially true for the building's second phase (Stratum I; Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 5), when two rooms were added to the building from the north and solid walls were built to replace the pillars separating the internal spaces. This limited the movement between different areas within the building. The use of solid walls rather than pillars to separate between the three longitudinal spaces can be seen also at Tell Qasile (Houses W and J; Mazar 2009: Fig. 6). While this step may have been prompted by a functional need, it resulted in a change in the flow of information and movement of people within the building. Pillars created a large, open space, which, while technically divided into three, in reality allowed for movement and visual and/or oral communication between these spaces. When solid walls replaced the pillars, movement between the three units was restricted to "official" doorways. It also blocked off eye contact and turned the two side halls into closed, privatized spaces.

Apart from pillar houses, at least one courtyard house, designated as Building O, was found at Tell Qasile (Mazar 2009: 327). This building has seven rooms that are spatially organized around an inner courtyard in the fashion of many LB and Iron Age I urban dwellings (see Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006 and more references there). The size of

Building O is comparable to that of Building 109 at ʿIzbet Ṣartah (see Tables 2 and 3), which makes it one of the largest dwellings found in this region, but the way in which it was subdivided is markedly different (Fig. 6). The courtyard is located at the center of the house, inaccessible and out of sight to anyone who enters the house from the street (Space O6 in Fig. 6; see Mazar 2009: Fig. 3 for an updated plan). The arrangement of the rooms is linear, allowing only for movement from one room to another. In this fashion, every room connects to two rooms. This linear—almost hierarchical—arrangement of space enabled the occupants of the house to control and restrict the movement of visitors, as well as inhabitants, inside the house.

While a comparison between individual houses at different sites discloses some differences in size and complexity, the significant difference lies in the way the dwellings were integrated into the settlement layout. Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence from Aphek and Gerisa, the discussion here will focus mainly on the marked distinctions found between ʿIzbet Ṣartah and Tell Qasile.

ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I comprises a cluster of houses, divided into three clear belts (Finkelstein 1986: Figs. 27, 28): The first comprises House 109, which stands at the center of the site, and is by far larger than the rest of the houses, as noted above. The second belt is an open space surrounding House 109. There are many grain silos in this area, and their spatial distribution makes it clear that they were associated with this building. The third, peripheral belt includes at least three houses which were significantly smaller then Building 109. Next to each of the houses other smaller buildings with less coherent plans were found. There are no streets in ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I, and no preplanned spatial arrangement could be discerned. The pillar houses are therefore autonomous spatial units, and the settlement seems to have evolved organically over time. According to Stager, clusters of houses, such as those in ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I, should be understood as representing *batei ʾav* (Stager 1985a; King and Stager 2001: 39–40). In the discussion that will follow below, I shall refer to the settlement under the term "village community." At ʿIzbet Ṣartah, Finkelstein (1996: 113) suggests that Building 109, which is located at the center of the settlement and is bigger and more complex than any of the other buildings, belonged to a high-ranking family. The occupants of this building probably gained control over the wealth that accumulated in the settlement as the result of trade with nearby Aphek (Gadot 2006). The smaller clusters

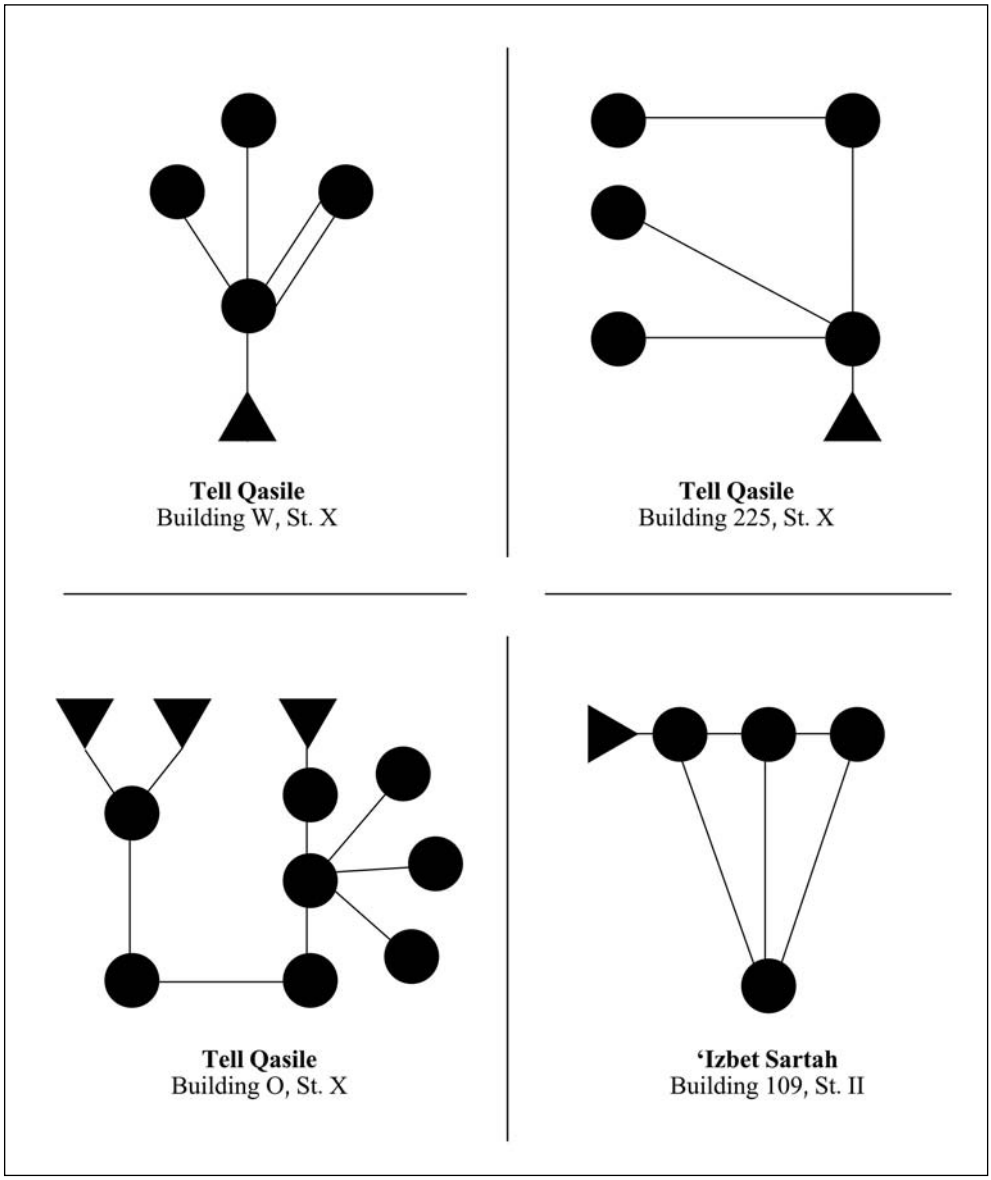


Figure 6. Syntax of houses: Building W (typical four-room house), Building 225, Building O (courtyard house) and Building 109.

of houses built around Building 109 were occupied by lower-ranking families.

The settlement at Tell Qasile, unlike that at ʿIzbet Ṣartah, has all the characteristics of a preplanned town (Mazar 2009 and earlier literature there), with parallel and perpendicular streets dividing the town into clearly defined quarters. This type of settlement will be termed below as "town community." The location and size of the buildings in each quarter indicates a clear spatial hierarchy and ranking. At the top of the hill is the town's temple, surrounded by open courtyards. The largest pillar houses (225 and 495) and Courtyard House O are located in the quarter built to the south of the temple. Further to the south and down the slope are smaller pillar houses (Area A). This quarter is also the location of Building Z, a tripartite building that should be interpreted here as a storehouse and may be an indication for the location of an entry gate/road nearby (Kochavi 1998).

The pillar houses were built along the street in what seems to be a single, preplanned operation, as adjoining houses share party walls. In this sense, the houses at Tell Qasile differ remarkably from the autonomous pillar houses at ʿIzbet Ṣartah. It should be noted that the only independent dwelling unit at the site is Courtyard House O, which shares only one wall with any of the neighboring buildings. The layout and the size of the pillar houses may indicate that they were used for housing nuclear families as opposed to the extended families that lived at ʿIzbet Ṣartah (above). Based on the size of houses found in archaeological excavations, Faust (1999a) claimed that, during the Iron Age II in Israel, urban families were usually nuclear families, while the rural sector of the Israelite society lived in extended families. The finds from ʿIzbet Ṣartah and Qasile seem to support such a claim. It should be noted however that examinations of the nature of the urban families living in Canaanite cities suggests that these too were extended family situations (Schloen 2001: 327–328; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006: 591).

Another phenomenon that is unique to the spatial arrangement of Tell Qasile is the location of an industrial installation, probably a metal smelting installation, in a domestic context (Mazar 2009: 326). The spatial location of installations within the domestic units attests to the way production was organized. Control over technological knowledge has been interpreted by many as a means for the creation of a ranked society and the maintenance of social order by the elite (Hayden 1995; Golden 1998). The spatial arrangement of industries may be helpful in identifying "attached specialists," specialists that are sponsored by and

subjected to some control by the ruling elite (Costin 1991, 1998a: 5). While the pattern revealed at Tell Qasile X clearly indicates specialization in production, it also indicates decentralization of production processes and that technological knowledge was not controlled by the elite at the site (Costin 1991: 6–7, 25). The location of industries within the household may be used as an indication for the nature of the residential domestic unit. Large manufacturing installations were found at Tell Qasile only in Building Q, one of the larger dwelling units. Such installations were not found inside the smaller pillar houses. It seems, therefore, that while nuclear families dwelt in the small pillar houses, as argued above, the larger houses were inhabited by extended families and by people working for them, who constituted part of the household (as opposed to a genetic family; see Laslett 1972: 36; Schloen 2001: 117–126).

Conclusions

The analyses and comparisons of Iron Age houses at different sites that have been presented here made it possible to identify four different architectural house types that were in use in a defined geographic and chronological time frame. These include single broad room (ʿIzbet Ṣartah III), square (Aphek X11), pillar (all sites), and courtyard (Tell Qasile). Three distinct settlement layouts were also discerned: the enclosure of ʿIzbet Ṣartah III, the *beit ʾav* village of ʿIzbet Ṣartah II and I, and the town of Tell Qasile X. The settlement of Aphek X11 and the farmsteads of Aphek X10–X9 and Gerisa are only partially preserved and too fragmentary for classification.

It is evident that only through a comprehensive discussion that takes into account the single household, as well as its location within the settlement, can real differences become apparent. For example, similar house forms (e.g., pillar houses) appearing in different spatial contexts may indicate different social and economic structures.

Taking all of the above into consideration, it becomes possible to identify four patterns of social and economic organization.

1. *Enclosure community:* The public courtyard and the small private spaces that existed at ʿIzbet Ṣartah III indicate the existence of a strongly integrated social group that suppressed the autonomous

nature of the household. The uniformity of the houses may be read as a sign of an egalitarian society. Alternatively, it may very well be that social status was manifested in long-gone perishable items or in age classifications.

2. *Village community:* Clusters of autonomous units of houses representing extended families (*batei ʾav*) formed a village with clear social ranking and accumulation of wealth. Such was the village of ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I, and possibly also the settlement of Aphek X11—although the basic household unit there was shaped differently from the houses at ʿIzbet Ṣartah.
3. *Town community:* This form is represented by small preplanned settlements that integrated a number of household forms: small nuclear families living in pillar houses; extended households that lived in larger houses and specialized in industrial production; and elite residence in either large, centrally located pillar houses or spacious courtyard houses. Tell Qasile X is the only clear settlement that falls into this category.
4. *Farmstead communities:* Because of poor preservation conditions, it is almost impossible to define clearly the pattern of social and economic organization at Aphek (X10–X9) and Gerisa. However, categorizing the two sites together is based on the fact that these are small settlements and in both cases large, open areas existed close to the houses.

Can the recognition of four distinct communities with unique social and economic patterns imply the existence of four distinct ethnic groups? Traditionally, the enclosed settlement at ʿIzbet Ṣartah has been interpreted as an "Israelite" or "proto-Israelite" settlement. This recognition is based primarily on the presumption that the highlands of Israel were the cradle of Israelite society (Finkelstein 1996). Although a clear occupational gap exists in ʿIzbet Ṣartah, the settlements of Strata II and I were also denoted "Israelite," mostly due to the nature of the material culture (Finkelstein 1986: 201–205; Mazar 1990: 335). When viewed here from the perspective of the architectural layout, it seems that there is little that connects the "enclosure community" of Stratum III with the "village community" of Strata II–I. The inhabitants of ʿIzbet Ṣartah III seem to have belonged to a well-integrated social group. Their appearance in the region is to be understood in connection with the region's deterioration following the demise of Egyptian control in the area.

By the Iron I period, the historical framework suggests that the region's ethnicity had completely changed. The inhabitants of Aphek, Gerisa, and Tell Qasile are considered by most to be Philistines (Finkelstein 1988; Mazar 1990). The settlement at ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I is considered to be Israelite. It was also suggested by a number of scholars that some of the residents at Tell Qasile were also Israelites (for the various opinions, see Mazar 2009: 334 and earlier literature there). Determining the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of all sites is impeded by the fact that material culture components usually taken as ethnic markers (pillar houses, collared-rim jars, and so on) are found at all four sites. There are at least two clear indications that the inhabitants of ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I belonged to a different ethnic group than that of the population of the rest of the region:

1. *Writing and language:* Two written documents were found in the region: an ostracon inscribed with the proto-Canaanite script was found at ʿIzbet Ṣartah (Demsky 1977); at Aphek, a clay tablet was found, inscribed with signs of an unidentified writing system bearing resemblance to linear scripts (Singer 2009). The differences in the writing systems of the two sites may be evidence of a different language spoken by the occupants of the two sites. Language and writing are among the traits that help define ethnic groups (Terrel 2001: 1–10) and can be used here as an ethnic marker.
2. *The basic family units:* As identified above, ʿIzbet Ṣartah (village community) and Tell Qasile (town community) differ considerably: ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I comprised *batei ʾav*, similar to those known from the cultural realm of the highland villages (Lehmann 2004; King and Stager 2001: 39), while the population of Tell Qasile X lived as nuclear families.

If ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I is an early Israelite settlement, whereas the rest of the sites were settled by the Philistine entity, how can we explain the similarities in the material culture recovered in both sites? Pillar houses, for example, can be found at both Tell Qasile X and ʿIzbet Ṣartah II–I, and at both sites a tendency to restrict movement within the domestic units can be discerned. The settlement at Tell Qasile X is especially puzzling, as its material culture exhibits some traits known also from neighboring cultures: the former Canaanite culture, the existing urban Philistine culture in the south, and the village highland

culture in the east. Some researchers claim that this "eclecticism" is an indication of the towns' mixed cultural heritage (Bunimovitz and Faust 2001; and see Mazar 2009: 334). I suggest that one way to explain the diversity noticed in the material culture is by recognizing the role of material culture in constructing social identity in borderlands and frontiers. Hodder has convincingly shown that material culture is used as an ethnic marker in cultural frontiers only at times when the ethnic identity is under threat (1977, 1985). At times of clear ethnic and social boundaries, when there is no danger of assimilation, there is also no fear concerning the adoption of the material culture of neighboring groups (see, also, Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Frankel 2003). Material culture, therefore, plays an important role only in manifesting ethnic identity at times of open social borders and when groups and people feel under threat of assimilation. Clearly, this fear was not felt by the inhabitants of the region under discussion during the Iron Age I. It seems that, during this period, all settlements along the Yarkon-Ayalon catchment were joined by a single economic system, and that social ranking was determined through regional trade (Gadot 2006). At this time, the autonomous and monolithic nature of the different ethnic groups in the region was clear and there was no fear of cultural assimilation that might end in identity loss. This created an open environment that traded not only in basic commodities, but freely exchanged ethnically and culturally charged artifacts.

EARLY IRON AGE DOMESTIC MATERIAL CULTURE IN PHILISTIA AND AN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN *KOINÉ*[1]

David Ben-Shlomo

Introduction

The debate concerning the Sea Peoples and the transformations that occurred in the eastern Mediterranean during the late thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE has attracted the attention of researchers for several decades, and several seminal works and numerous articles focusing on this subject have appeared (see Barako 2000; Yasur-Landau 2003a, 2003b; Ben-Shlomo 2006a; Uziel 2007, for references and discussion). The past decades have also yielded an increasing amount of archaeological evidence from the twelfth century BCE in the eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 1) where Aegean, Aegeanizing[2] or "Western-style" elements appear in various localities. This material probably represents various movements of peoples and/or ideas from the Aegean region to the southern Levant and to other regions as well. While a number of sites in the southern Levant, Syria, Cyprus, southern Italy, and other areas have yielded various components of the archaeological record that indicate a new and foreign material culture, the most notable case of this phenomenon is probably the Iron Age I material culture on the southern coast of Israel (Philistia). It is still commonly believed that this phenomenon represents an emigration event of some sort, a movement of peoples from the west (Barako 2000); yet the more

[1] Much of the work on this article was done during my stay at the University of Heidelberg in 2006–2007, which was funded by an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship. Many thanks go to Prof. J. Maran of the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte in Heidelberg for his remarks and assistance. I wish to thank P. Stockhammer, M. Vetters, and A. Zukerman for their helpful remarks. Needless to say, I alone bear responsibility for all statements made in this article. I thank T. Dothan and S. Gitin for permitting me to publish artifacts from Tel Miqne-Ekron. The photographs from Tel Miqne-Ekron are by G. Laron and Z. Radovan; the drawings are by H. Bitan and M. Zeltser. Illustrations of objects from Ashdod are courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

[2] The term "Aegeanizing," as used here, relates to material culture elements that are not identical to Aegean elements, but rather show distinct similarities to them.

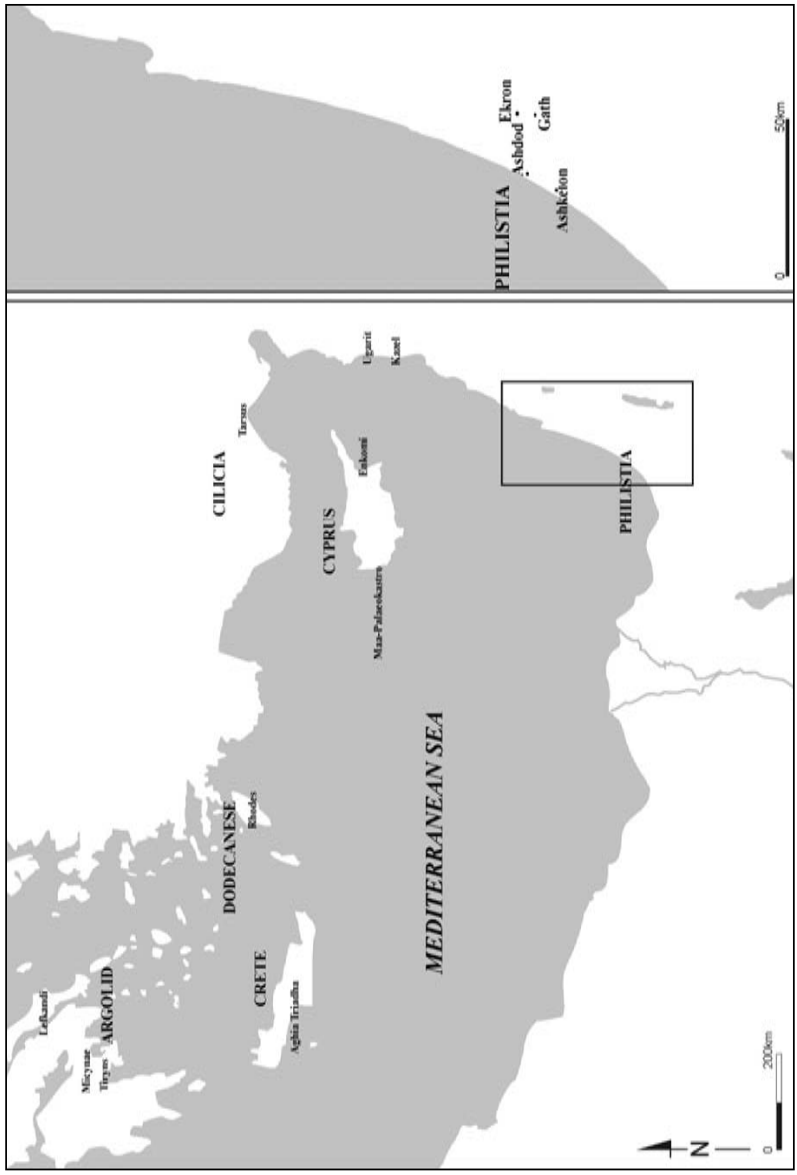


Figure 1. Map of the eastern Mediterranean with main regions and sites mentioned in the text.

specific nature of this event, such as its magnitude, time frame, pace of influx, social and political structure, and the geographic and ethnic origin of these immigrants, as well as their relationship with the local host population, is not yet clear and very much debatable. This event has often been described as very dramatic, sudden, and even violent, occurring against the backdrop of the collapse of the Aegean palatial system, either as the cause, effect, or both, as implied by the contemporary textual evidence on the Sea Peoples and the damage reported to have been caused by them (Dothan 1982: 295–296; Stager 1991: 35; Drews 1993: 220; Bunimovitz 1998: 107–109; Barako 2000: 521; Yasur-Landau 2003a: 47–50). These descriptions sometimes allude to refugees from the palatial society and/or groups of violent Sea Peoples or sea raiders (Stager 1995: 345). Some researchers propose a strong connection with Cyprus, suggesting that the immigrants and their material culture originated from there and not from the Aegean mainland (e.g., Killebrew 2000: 243; 2005: 197–245; Cross and Stager 2006: 150), or that the process should be related to a strengthening of economic relations with Cyprus and to mercantile activities (Artzy 1997; Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998: 302).

The close relationship between household archaeology and migration archaeology has been readily acknowledged in the past few years (Burmeister 2000; Yasur-Landau 2002). Immigrants tend to manifest their otherness through material culture more intensively within their private household than in public or other domains. According to these studies, the analysis of material culture from immigrant households can be employed to illuminate the nature of the migrant society in three ways: it can resolve the question of whether or not the households were occupied by immigrants; it can be used to investigate the background of the immigrants, including their geographic origins, ethnic affinities, and socioeconomic status; and it may illuminate the relationships and interactions between the immigrants and members of the local population (Burmeister 2000). In order to address the question, then, of Philistine migration, it seems more beneficial to examine material culture elements appearing in Philistine houses than those represented in public or religious structures.

For this paper, I have thus chosen to examine certain aspects of the material culture of Philistia, Cyprus, and the Aegean in relation to the three aspects noted above. Some of these elements have received less attention in previous research and will be discussed here in more detail. I will suggest that, during the twelfth century BCE, multilateral

contacts between populations in the Argolid and on Cyprus, the immigrants in the southern Levant, and possibly peoples in other regions in the eastern Mediterranean created a "cultural *koiné*." In this context, a cultural *koiné* is defined as behaviors and material culture elements, as reflected in the archaeological record, that are shared by groups of peoples in various locations. I will show that this *koiné* may be illustrated by certain aspects of material culture in the domestic domain of excavated Philistine households, and suggest that it may reflect the movement of both ideas and peoples within the eastern Mediterranean.

Domestic Aspects of the Early Iron Age Philistine Material Culture

The term "household" includes three aspects (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618): (1) the social unit constituting the household;[3] (2) the material expression of the household, i.e., the dwelling itself and its material contents; and (3) the human behavior related to the household. Archaeology can deal directly only with the second aspect, while the other two aspects can only be inferred from an analysis of the dwelling (the domestic domain). The types of recoverable archaeological data can be subdivided into three categories: (1) the immobile elements of the household, i.e., the house itself (its plan, construction technique, size, etc.); (2) the mobile material culture, i.e., furniture, vessels, and any other artifacts in the dwelling (a number of features or installations can be included in this category, such as benches, hearths, pits, baths, ovens, etc.); and (3) patterns in the plan and organization of the material culture that may provide evidence for human behavior within the house (see Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a, 2003b, for an analysis of the "four-room house"; see also Hardin 2004, for Tell Halif).

This paper deals primarily with the second subdivision of material culture, the category that includes mobile artifacts and installations found in dwellings. Certain architectural elements, such as the "megaron" hearths and tubs, which may indicate connections with Cyprus or the Aegean (Karageorghis 2000: 266–273; Dothan 2003; Killebrew 2005: 209–217; Gitin et al. 2006: 54); metallurgical finds from this period, which may show connections with Cyprus (see, e.g., Mazar

[3] Note the difference between the dwelling, which implies coresidence (this is the structure that is actually examined by archaeological fieldwork) and the "household," which implies socioeconomic cooperation. Conclusions regarding the household are inferred from the material culture of the dwelling.

1991: 101); and various burial customs, which may point to certain Aegean connections,[4] notably the graves in Tell el-Farʿah (S) (Waldbaum 1966; Dothan 1982: 29–33, 260–268; Brug 1985: 149–164; Gonen 1992: 124–131), will not be discussed in this paper, as these generally fall outside the typical domestic assemblage, which is the focus of this paper, seen here as the most reliable mirror of cultural identity.

Much attention has been given to the locally produced Philistine Monochrome (or Mycenaean IIIC: 1b or Philistine 1) pottery (see, e.g., Killebrew 1998, 2000, 2005: 226–231; Dothan and Zukerman 2004; Ben-Shlomo 2006a: 22–46). This issue will not be discussed here, but one should note that the early Philistine Monochrome pottery is represented mostly by open forms of tableware and appears in large quantities in the earliest Iron I strata in the Philistine cities, reaching up to 50% of the assemblage in certain contexts (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 31; see also Mazow 2005). It includes only selected pottery forms compared to the contemporary LHIIIC Early assemblages (Mountjoy 1999: 36–47). Deep bowls (skyphoi) and rounded bowls and kraters are common, as well as carinated conical bowls (see Dothan and Zukerman 2004), yet other forms that are very common in the Aegean, such as spouted bowls (FS 214, FS 253), high handled cups (FS 236), and kylikes (as FS 259, FS 266) are very rare in Philistia. Closed forms include stirrup jars, spouted "feeding bottles," globular high-necked jugs, and strainer-spouted jugs, but other common closed forms do not appear. Stylistically, the Philistine assemblage is similar to locally produced, Aegeanizing pottery on LCIIIA Cyprus, especially at Enkomi (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 44), yet many parallels come from the Argolid, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese, and Crete (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 43–45); this is especially true concerning the decorative motifs, which show a blend of regional styles. Thus, essentially the Philistine Monochrome may be perceived as a regional variant of the general LHIIIC Early/Middle style, which in itself is an amalgamation of many local styles (e.g., Mountjoy 1999: 47–51).

A growing number of other aspects of early Philistine culture are now seen as reflecting Aegean or Aegeanizing properties. These include cooking vessels, figurines, clay spools, metals, ivories, and diet, which is reflected in faunal and floral material (see also Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003a, for an overview). Several of these elements, reflecting

[4] This idea, however, is still problematic, as no cemeteries belonging to the primary Philistine cities have yet been excavated.

domestic and household aspects of daily life, will be discussed here in an attempt to describe the social and ethnic nature of the Philistine immigrant population and this population's possible relationship with contemporary populations in the eastern Mediterranean. In this study I will focus on the evidence related to household production, such as foodways and spools, and on evidence for domestic cult activities (figurines).

1. *Cooking Vessels, Cooking Facilities, and Diet*

Foodways, cooking traditions, and the vessels related to cooking can convey important information about the ethnic or social identity of the people who used them, as well as aspects of their daily-life activities. The ethnic or social identity of ancient people may be conveyed through food consumption in several ways, such as the types of foods consumed and the manner in which foods are cooked and subsequently consumed. The relationships between food, diet, and cooking traditions and ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic phenomena has been extensively discussed in numerous anthropological studies, which demonstrate that food and its preparation and consumption are fundamental aspects of a culture's self-definition (e.g., Kuhnlein and Receveur 1996; Mintz and du Bois 2002). Much of the evidence relating to this subject in Early Iron Age Philistia has already been discussed (Yasur-Landau 2002, 2005; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008), and is summarized below.

A new type of cooking vessel, the cooking jug or cooking amphora, appears in the Philistine cities during the Early Iron Age (Killebrew 1999: 93–94; Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 28–31, Figs. 36–37, Type P, and references therein; Yasur-Landau 2005; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008: Type 2). Both one-handled jugs of various sizes and larger, two-handled amphorae appear in Philistia (Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008: Fig. 3: a–c, Fig. 3: d, respectively). This form is completely different from the traditional Canaanite carinated cooking pot of Late Bronze II and Iron I that is common in the southern Levant, including Philistia (Killebrew 1999: 84–93). These cooking jugs clearly indicate a different cooking tradition, as these vessels are closed, small, and freestanding in contrast to the large, open Canaanite cooking pots. It is possible that they were used for cooking or heating near or on rounded or square hearths; this cooking technique is slower and the capacity of these cooking jugs is

lower than that of the open cooking pots. The cooking jugs have been compared with examples from Cyprus and the Aegean (see Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 29–31 and references therein); on Cyprus this cooking-vessel type appears to be a new feature of the period (Pilides 2005: 174–177). Similar vessels come from LHIIIC Tiryns (Stockhammer 2006: 144), Lefkandi (Popham et al. 2006: 148, Figs. 2.2: 7, 2.5: 1, 2.33, 2.33: 3, 5), Chios (Hood 1982: 619, Fig. 280: 2947–2949) and other sites. It is worth mentioning, however, that Aegean-style tripod cooking pots, which are probably the most popular LHIIIB cooking vessel (Borgna 2004), do not appear in Philistia. In addition, these cooking jugs seem to be rare to nonexistent at Syrian sites such as Tell Afis, Tell Taʿyinat and Tell Kazel, sites which yielded other types of locally produced Aegean-style pottery (Badre et al. 2005: Fig. 4: 1; as well as at Tarsus: Goldman 1956: Pl. 324: 1220–1221; Capet 2007; Du Piêd 2007; Janeway 2007).

At Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, and Ashkelon (Dothan 2003; Mazow 2005: 212–223; Stager 2006; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008) changes in cooking facilities during the early Iron I are also evidenced by the appearance of a new type of cooking/heating facility: the hearth, a feature whose roots seem to be in the Aegean (Karageorghis 2000; Dothan 2003; Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008: 236). Based on their shape and location (often indoors, in small rooms), these installations could have been used for low-temperature or coal-burning fires, rather than open, high-temperature ones (Yasur-Landau 2005: 182). The cooking jugs/amphorae may have been appropriate for use with these types of cooking installations (Killebrew 1999: 106; Yasur-Landau 2005), and were used similarly in the Aegean and on Cyprus in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (Karageorghis 2000; Yasur-Landau 2002: 173–174). There are several examples of cooking amphorae found in relation to hearths or ovens at Tiryns and, in one case, a vessel contained the remains of the pig bones cooked in it (Stockhammer 2006: 144, Pl. 7: 3). At Chania, a complete cooking amphora was found associated with a rounded, stand-like portable oven (Hallager and Hallager 2000: 82, 162, Pl. 77: f). The soot marks on the cooking jugs from Philistia, Cyprus, and the Aegean are quite similar to each other, usually located on the lower sides attesting to slow heating near a hearth (Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008 and references therein).

Distinctive foodways linking the Philistines to the Aegean are also evidenced in the faunal and botanical remains at Philistine sites. The recent publication of a large sample from Field INE at Tel

Miqne/Ekron shows a clear rise in pig and cattle bones in the Iron I compared with both earlier and later periods (Lev-Tov 2006: 211–212). This generally accords with earlier reports (Hesse 1986) and similar results from Ashkelon (Hesse 1990; Stager 1991: 37), indicating that cattle was as common as sheep/goat in the twelfth century and pig was second in importance. Several limited reports on faunal remains from Ashdod are less reliable, as the animal bones were not systematically collected in the field. Yet, even in the small sample analyzed from Area H, Strata XII–XI (Maher 2005: Tables 8.1–8.3), a significant percentage of pig bones was present, which is different from other Levantine sites during this period where pig bones are generally not represented in the faunal assemblage (see, e.g., Ben-Shlomo et al. 2008 and more references therein). Pork consumption is, however, characteristic of Bronze Age Aegean sites (see, e.g., Trantalidiou 1998: 395–397; Lipovitch 2007), and the ratio of 2: 2: 1 between sheep/goat: cattle: pig is also attested at LHIIIC Tiryns (von den Driesch and Boessneck 1990: 93, Table 5; this ratio is the same as at Ashkelon, see above). In addition, a special type of lentil (*Lathyrus sativus/cicera*) was identified at Tell Qasile in an eleventh-century context (Kislev and Hopf 1985), at Ekron in late thirteenth-/early twelfth-century contexts (Strata VIII–VII; Mahler-Slaskey 2004: 178–179), and in the 604 BCE destruction layer at Ashkelon (Mahler-Slasky 2004: 96, 180). This lentil requires a special cooking method to remove toxins. It is primarily found in the Aegean region (see Kroll 1982: 476, Tables 1–3 for LHIIIC Early Tiryns), and was probably brought to Canaan by the Philistines and grown, at least at Ashkelon, until the end of the Iron Age (Mahler-Slasky 2004: 176–177, 182–185).

2. *Aegean-Style Terracotta Figurines*

Female anthropomorphic and bovine figurines similar to, or inspired by, Aegean prototypes are known from sites in Philistia (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009). Understanding their presence is a broad and complex issue that relates also to iconography and cult practices. I will only briefly discuss these figurines here with an emphasis on some unpublished evidence. The Aegean-style figurines include three major types: standing Psi and "Psi-related" female figurines, seated female figurines ("Ashdoda"), and decorated bovine figurines.

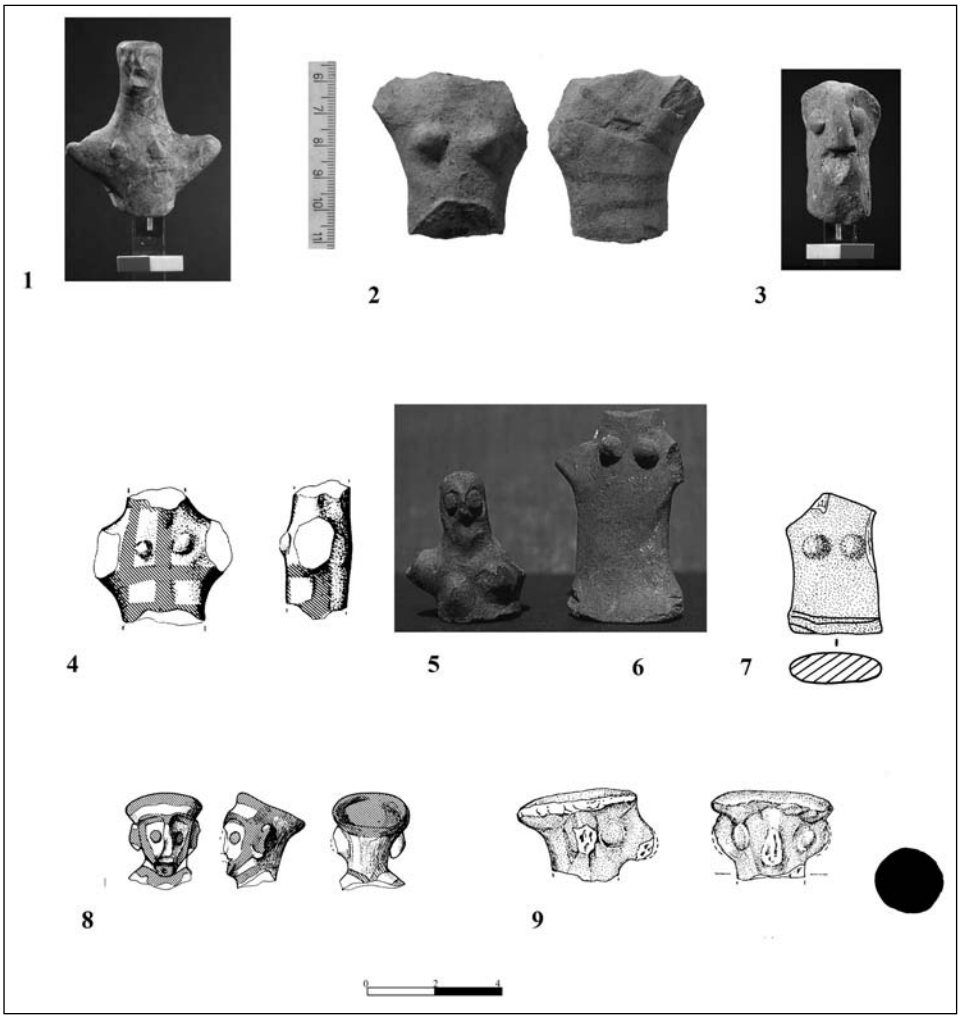


Figure 2. Aegean style female figurines from Tel Miqne-Ekron: (1) Object No. 5080, Basket IVNE.23.338; (2) Object No. 2107, Basket IVNW.41.61; (3) Object No. 4517, Basket IIINE.10.181; (9) Object No. 4895, Basket INW.3.538; Ashdod: (4) Dothan and Porath 1982: Fig. 34:2; (5) Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: Fig. 3.36:3; (6) Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: Fig. 3.36:2; (8) Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: Fig. 3.62:1; and Maa-Palaeokastro (7) Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CCXXI:19.

Psi and "Psi-related" figurines (Fig. 2: 1–2, 4–6) depict a schematic standing female with its hands uplifted (for the Mycenaean prototype, see Furumark 1941: 86; French 1971: 133–139, Pl. 22).[5] This type of figurine appears at Tel Ashdod (Fig. 2: 4–6; Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 122, Figs. 3.36: 2–3, 3.62: 2, 3.80: 4, 3.115: 5), Ekron (Fig. 2: 1–2; Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009), and Ashkelon (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009; Stager et al. 2008: 266), and at Tell Qasile as a surface find (Mazar 1986: 14, Fig. 6: 2, Pl. 3b). Where the context is known, these figurines come from domestic contexts (see Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009: 23–26).

Various narrow heads with bird-shaped faces may also belong to this type (Fig. 2: 3), while shorter heads with a concave "polos" hat (or hairdress) may belong to seated female figurines (e.g., Fig. 2: 8), or other unknown types. Several examples of the Psi type preserve a painted decoration depicting the dress and include horizontal lines and an X-shaped strap on the back (Fig. 2: 2) or a hatched pattern appearing on the front of the figurine, as seen in an example from Ashdod (Fig. 2: 4). This decoration recalls similar LHIIIC figurines from Phylakopi (French 1985: Fig. 6.2: 1521, 2007), Lefkandi (French 2006: Pl. 73: 21), and Enkomi on Cyprus (Levels IIIB–C, of LCIIIB, see, e.g., Courtois 1971: Figs. 149: 687–688, 151: 657) and indicates that the Philistines knew the details of LHIIIC figurines. Other Philistine examples depict a more schematic version of this type with no decoration (Fig. 2: 5–6).

During the LHIIIC, the Psi figurine is probably the most common Mycenaean figurine (French 1971: 133–134, Pl. 20: d; see also Kilian 1979: Figs. 13–15; French 2006: 262, Pl. 73: 23). This figurine type also appears on Crete and similarities can be noted between the "Psi-related" figurines from Philistia and those from LMIIIC and post-Minoan Crete (D'Agata 1999: 103, 133–136: Pls. 68: C.4.1, 80: D.2.12, 81; D'Agata 2001: 347, 351). Similar Psi figurines appear on Cyprus at the same time, for example at Maa-Palaeokastro (Fig. 2: 7; Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CCXXI: 19). Especially noteworthy is a large concentration of these figurines in the courtyard west of the Sanctuary of

[5] It should be noted that most fragmentary standing female figurines from Iron I Philistia probably belong to this type and not to "mourning" female figurines, which are depicted with their hands on top of their head (see Dothan 1982: 237–249), as there are no signs of hands having been attached to the head; moreover, the "mourning" figurine even in the Aegean is quite rare.

the Ingot God at Enkomi (Courtois 1971: 326–343, Figs. 141–154). It should be noted, however, that this assemblage is found in a public cult context, which is markedly different from the examples from Philistia, which are found in private dwellings. On Cyprus this type of figurine continues into the Cypro-Geometric period (Karageorghis 1993: 82–85, Pls. 36–37), but in Philistia it is not found in post-Iron I contexts (Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009).

A second type of terracotta figurine that is typical of Philistine material culture is the seated female figurine or "Ashdoda" (Fig. 2: 9; Dothan 1971: Fig. 91: 1; Dothan 1982: 234–237; Schmidt 1999: 608–616, Type III; Yasur-Landau 2001). This figurine displays a mixture of Aegean and Canaanite features (Brug 1985: 186), yet its concept probably originates with Mycenaean seated female figurines (French 1971: 167–172; Dothan 1982: 234). According to the evidence from Ekron, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, this type of figurine does not appear before the latter part of the twelfth century BCE, nor does it appear in the typical Philistine Monochrome decoration or fabric. These figurines are either decorated in Philistine Bichrome style or not at all. Similar to the Psi type as noted above, the "Ashdoda" type is found in domestic contexts (Yasur-Landau 2001: 336–337; Ben-Shlomo and Press 2009: 23–26).

Another type of Aegean-style figurine, which appears only in the earliest Iron I levels at Ekron, is the decorated bovine figurine (Fig. 3). Decorated zoomorphic figurines are not otherwise known in the Early Iron Age southern Levant. Among the eleven known examples from Ekron, several are made of fine, calcareous, well-levigated clay (Fig. 3: 1–2).[6] The most complete example was found on the eastern slope of Field I in Stratum VIIA (early twelfth century BCE) (Fig. 3: 1–2 right; Ben-Shlomo 2006b: 190, Fig. 5.1: 1). Parallels come from Tiryns (e.g., Weber-Hiden 1990: Pls. 41.71, 47.149), Phylakopi (French 1985: Pl. 46.c.148), and LCIIIA Enkomi (Dikaios 1971: Pl. 137: 23). Another figurine from Ekron of the same type was found near a Stratum VI (late twelfth-century-BCE) pottery kiln in Field INE (Ben-Shlomo 2006b: 190). A figurine coming from a Stratum VI fill (Fig. 3: 3) is very similar to an example from LCIIIA Enkomi (Fig. 3: 4; Dikaios 1971: 735, Pl. 170.1160) and possibly one from Lefkandi (French 2006: 263, Pl. 75:

[6] The clay recipe is similar to the clay used for fine Philistine Monochrome (Mycenaean IIIC: 1 or Philistine 1) pottery in Philistia (Ben-Shlomo 2006a: 24; Dothan et al. 2006: 72); both chemical analysis and petrography have shown that these bovine figurines were locally made (Ben-Shlomo 2006a: 44, 189, Samples MQ59–60).

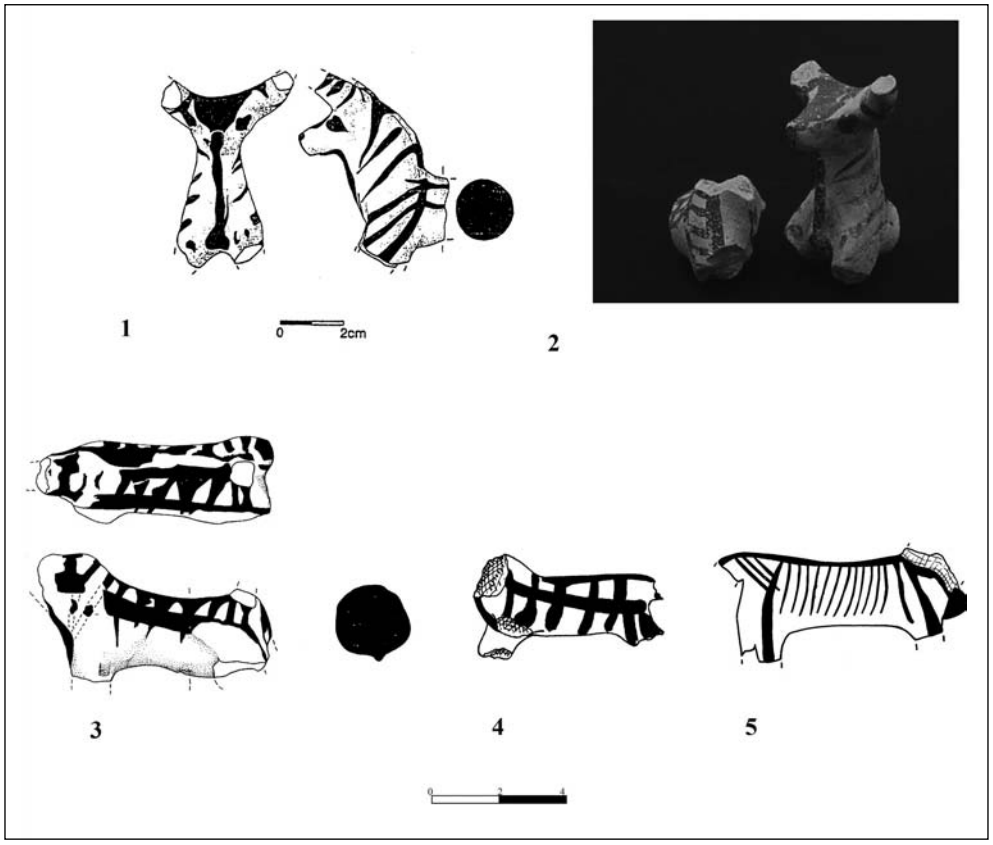


Figure 3. Decorated bovine figurines from Tel Miqne/Ekron: (1) Object No. 6646, Basket INE.69.18; (2) Object Nos. 194 and 6646; (3) Object No. 1364, Basket INE.2.571; Enkomi: (4) Dikaios 1971: Pl. 170: 11; and Maa-Palaeokastro: (5) Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. CLXXI: 154.

60). Other decorated bovine figurines from Cyprus, of similar style and probably made locally, include examples from Maa-Palaeokastro (Fig. 3: 5; Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pls. CCXII: 424, CLXXI: 150, 154), Enkomi (Dikaios 1971: Pl. 131: 41, 43, 45), and Sinda (Furumark and Adelman 2003: 118, Pl. 37).

According to previous research (Ben Shlomo and Press 2009),[7] the Aegean-style figurines from Philistia probably represent domestic cult

[7] Our argument is based on the context of both of these finds in Philistia and those in the LHIIIC Aegean.

activities of Philistine immigrants who retained elements of the religion of their motherland. This evidence does not seem to indicate the presence or activities of an elite or priestly class originating from a palatial Mycenaean society (related to the "hearth-*wanax*" ideology, see below), but rather the private household activities of a non-elite population. Similar domestic ritual activities associated with such figurine types are probably seen in several LHIIIC Early contexts in the Argolid at Tiryns (Kilian 1979: 290–291; 1990: 195–196; Maran 2001a: 117–120; 2006a) and Mycenae (French 1981a: 45), as well as on LMIIIC Crete (D'Agata 2001: 348–349).

3. *Undecorated Zoomorphic Figurines*

Crude, undecorated, terracotta zoomorphic figurines from Early Iron Age Philistia have not yet received as much attention as other aspects of Philistine material culture. While zoomorphic figurines are common in various periods in the southern Levant, such as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic and the Early Bronze Age, the large number of zoomorphic figurines found in Philistine cities, for example at Tel Miqne/Ekron, may indicate that this is a significant phenomenon related to Philistine material culture, especially since such figurines are not common in earlier, LBII contexts. More than forty undecorated zoomorphic figurines (mostly fragments) were found in Iron I levels at Tel Miqne/Ekron (Fig. 4). A few Iron I examples were published from Ashdod (Dothan 1971: Fig. 3: 4; Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 123, Fig. 3.36: 8; possibly Dothan and Porath 1993: 79, Fig. 35: 7), and some have also been reported from Iron I levels at Ashkelon (Ross Voss and M. Press, personal communication). Most of these figurines are made of coarse clay rich with organic temper. They were not fired at a high temperature and in many cases have black soot residues, as if they were placed in a fire. Some figurines are very brittle, which may suggest that others were not preserved or were not recognized during excavation and therefore not published. The latter may be particularly true of the excavations at Ashdod in the 1960s. Most zoomorphic figurines are found in diverse contexts, including domestic, public, and open areas, and probably do not come from primary deposits in most cases.

The figurines were schematically modeled using the fingertips, and only a few typical characteristic details are portrayed, although more detailed and naturalistically shaped ones occur as well (as in Fig. 4: 3).

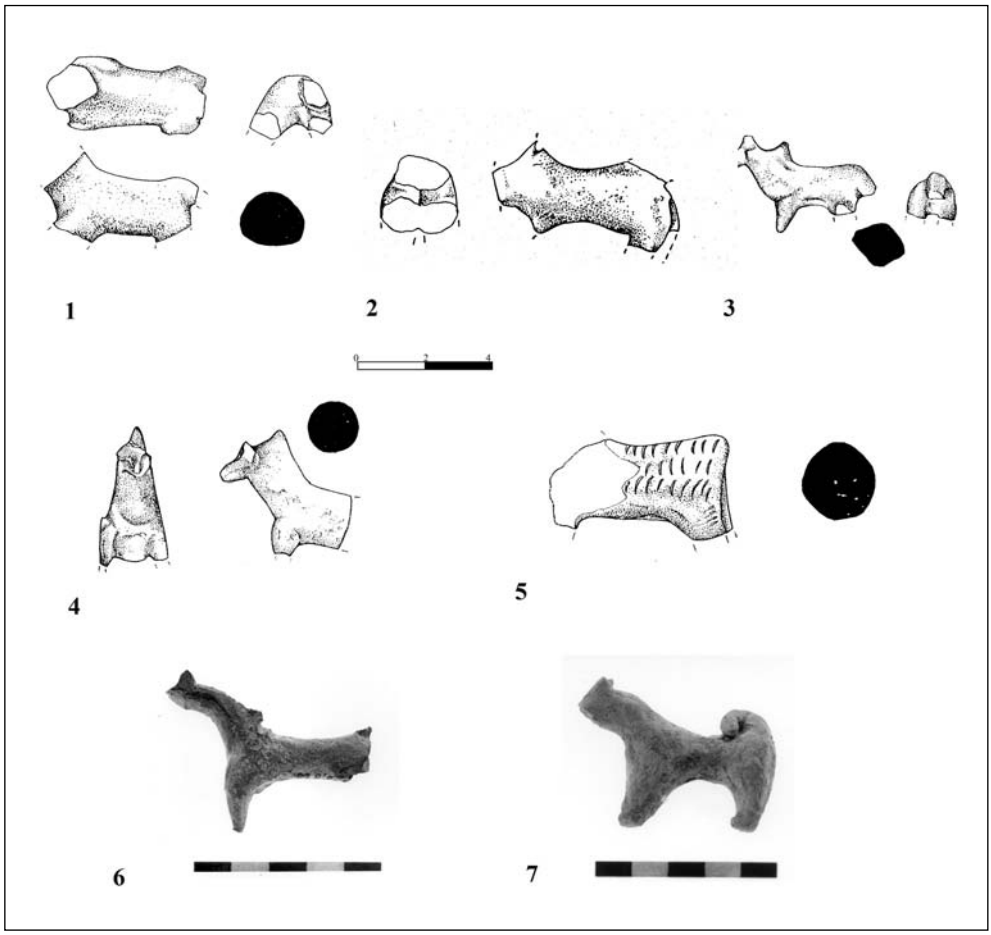


Figure 4. Undecorated zoomorphic figurines from Tel Miqne/Ekron: (1) Object No. 7587, Basket INE.17.100; (2) Object No. 5558, Basket INE.36.167; (3) Object No. 4708, Basket ISW.3.387; (4) Object No. 7004, Basket IIINE.8.628; (5) Object No. 1625, Basket IVNW.25.195; (6) Object No. 176, Basket INE.5.218; (7) Object No. 5159, Basket IIINE.8.411.

Among the smaller figurines, most details were created by pinching the clay rather than by application, with details formed only through incisions and fingernail marks (Fig. 4: 5). In some cases, the animal depicted cannot be identified since the objects are too fragmentary or lack indicative anatomical details. However, it seems that the most common animals depicted are bovine. These can usually be identified by their horned heads (Fig. 4: 3–4; albeit this part is often not

preserved). Other identifying details include a hump on the back or nape, typical of the Asiatic zebu (*Bos indicus*) bovine (Fig. 4: 3–4), a dewlap on the neck, and a stumpy body, which is ovoid or rounded in section. A nearly complete Asiatic zebu bovine figurine, including the shoulder hump, was found in Tel Miqne/Ekron Stratum VI. Although very small, it is quite detailed (Fig. 4: 3). An example from Stratum VIB debris (Fig. 4: 4), which includes only the front part of the figurine, has a schematic head with two pinched horns or ears and an applied triangle-shaped bulge on the nape, indicating that this figurine is a bovine. A ball-shaped pellet was applied between the front legs. The meaning of the ball between the legs is not clear; it might depict the lower dewlap of the animal or an object tied to it. The figurine also has soot marks. Several additional zoomorphic figurines have a suspension loop attached to their back (Fig. 4: 2, 6). These figurines were probably hung by a string, possibly as tokens or pendants. Another animal figurine found is a horse (Fig. 4: 6), which also has a suspension loop and soot marks. The horse has a long arched neck, slender body, and the remains of a mane. A complete figurine with an unhorned head and an in-curving tail (Fig. 4: 7) possibly depicts a dog. A body of a soot-covered figurine, probably a bovine (Fig. 4: 1), from Tel Miqne/Ekron was found in "cult room" 16 in Field INE,[8] which is dated to the early twelfth century BCE (Stratum VIIA) (Dothan 2003: 208, Fig. 17; Gitin et al. 2006: 36–37). The large number of bovine figurines during the Early Iron Age at Tel Miqne/Ekron may be connected to a rise in the animal's economic value during this period (something that may also be reflected in the archaeozoological data from Tel Miqne/Ekron, see above).

Undecorated, crude, zoomorphic figurines were published from the LHIIIC Tiryns *Unterburg* (Kilian 1978a: 451–452, Fig. 7; Melissa Vetters, personal communication),[9] as well as LHIIIC Lefkandi (French 2006: 258, 263, Pls. 74: 58, 85, 87–88, 75: 65). Cretan LMIIIC examples come from Agia Triada (D'Agata 1999: 59, Pl. XXVI: C1.44–45). Similar types of crude zoomorphic figurines have a long history in Cretan "peak sanctuaries" as well (e.g., Karetsou 1981: 147, Fig. 21; Peatfield 1992: 72, Fig. 17). Twelfth-century-BCE Cypriot examples are known from

[8] A group of six or seven figurine fragments was found in or near a room in Field INE.3 (Dothan 2003: 208, Fig. 17) that has been interpreted as a cultic room.

[9] I wish to thank Melissa Vetters of Heidelberg University, who is currently working on the figurines from Tiryns, for sharing with me some of her yet unpublished results.

Enkomi (Dikaios 1971: 692, Pls. 131: 39–40, 131: 46–48, 137: 16–16a, 177: 1–4) and Maa-Palaeokastro (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pls. CXX: 18, 113, CC: 317).

The Cypriot and Aegean undecorated zoomorphic figurines are similar to the Philistine ones in the type of clay, the soot marks, the modeling of the details (the pinching technique and the incisions), and the types of animals represented—mostly bovines but other species as well. These figurines may represent a domestic cult or other symbolic practices, maybe in a manner similar to voodoo or "sympathetic witchcraft" (similar in a way to those attested, for example, by similar Neolithic figurines; Schmandt-Besserat 1997). In any case, these objects could have been characteristic of post-palatial society in the Aegean and in the eastern Mediterranean, occurring both in the primary urban sites and in remote peak sanctuaries. However, the cult that may be represented by these figurines is different from that related to the LHIIIB palatial "hearth-*wanax*" religious ideology (Kilian 1988a; Wright 1995), which is very centralized and homogenized, with most rituals and paraphernalia occurring in major shrines (see, e.g., Kilian 1990: 195–198; Hägg 1995). Instead of looking for the western origin and consequential influence of this cult and its related figurines on the Philistine culture, it should be noted that these figurines are particularly common in Philistia in the early twelfth century and are essentially rooted in earlier periods in the Levant. The appearance, therefore, of this type of zoomorphic figurine in the Aegean, especially on the mainland, could represent influences from the Levant or from Cyprus in this period. If this were the case, then the inhabitants of the sites on Cyprus and in Philistia, where these figurines were found, may have developed specific customs independently, maybe as a result of interactions with indigenous traditions and then influenced their peers on the Greek mainland. In any case, the appearance of the undecorated zoomorphic figures in Philistia, Cyprus, and the Aegean may indicate continuous communication, or a *koiné*, between populations in these regions.

4. *Clay Spools or Cylindrical Loom Weights*

Cylindrical clay objects identified as loom weights, spools, or reels (Fig. 5) are also considered an "Aegeanized" aspect of Philistine material culture (Yasur-Landau 2002: 199; 2003a: 49). Their size varies from

5 to 10 cm in length and 3 to 6 cm in width. They are either perfect cylinders or cylindrical with a pinched-in center and are either unfired or poorly fired. This class of artifacts in the Mediterranean, dated to the late second millennium BCE, was studied in detail by Rahmstorf (2003, 2005) and will only be briefly described here. Spools appear at Ashdod in Stratum XIIIa (Dothan and Porath 1993: 64, Fig. 24: 3–5, Pl. 39: 4), Ashkelon (Stager 1995: 346; 2006: 11), Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (A. M. Maeir, personal communication), and Tel Miqne/Ekron (Fig. 5; Bierling 1998: Pl. 7: b; Shamir 1991), during the Early Iron Age; they appear in large quantities at Tel Miqne/Ekron and Ashkelon (Shamir 1991; Stager 1995: 346). The function of these objects is not entirely clear, but it seems that, according to their find spots (in large concentrated groups, sometimes in straight lines, Rahmstorf 2005: 156), their general shape and size, and Cypro-Geometric iconographic representations (Rahmstorf 2005: 155, Pl. 22: 2), they were used as loom weights (Rahmstorf 2005: 156), although in certain contexts they could also have had other uses. Due to their simple shape and available material, they may have been easily produced for a domestic textile industry. These traits may also have been important considerations for an immigrant household. Spools have been seen as an especially important ethnic marker reflecting Aegean female immigrants and domestic weaving practices (Yasur-Landau 2002: 174, 184; Rahmstorf 2005).

In Philistia these spools appear in the earliest Iron I strata (as Ashdod Stratum XIIIa). They appear rather suddenly in Tiryns during the LHIIIC Early/Middle (over 200 examples; Rahmstorf 2005: 146, Pl. 20: 5, Horizon 20), as well as in LHIIIC Middle Aegean sites, such as Kynos, Bakali-Magula (Rahmstorf 2003: 403; 2005: Appendices 1–2) and Lefkandi (Evely 2006: 296–300, Fig. 5.15–16), where their appearance is contemporaneous with or possibly even later than their appearance in Philistia and Cyprus. On Crete, clay spools seem to appear somewhat earlier, during the LMIIIB2 (Rahmstorf 2005: 149), but it seems that most examples come from the LMIIIC. On Cyprus, spools are dated to the LCIIIA and are found, for example, at Maa-Palaeokastro, where 73 were reported (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pls. CLXXXVII–CLXXXIX; Rahmstorf 2005: Appendix 2), and at Kition, where 39 examples were found, dispersed in various units (see Rahmstorf 2005: 150, Figs. 2–3). Similar spools were found at Tell Taʿyinat (Janeway 2007: Fig. 6) and throughout the Iron Age at Tell Afis in Syria (Cecchini 2000: 216–219, Fig. 1, and more references for Syria therein), as well as at the Iron IIB kiln site of Kfar

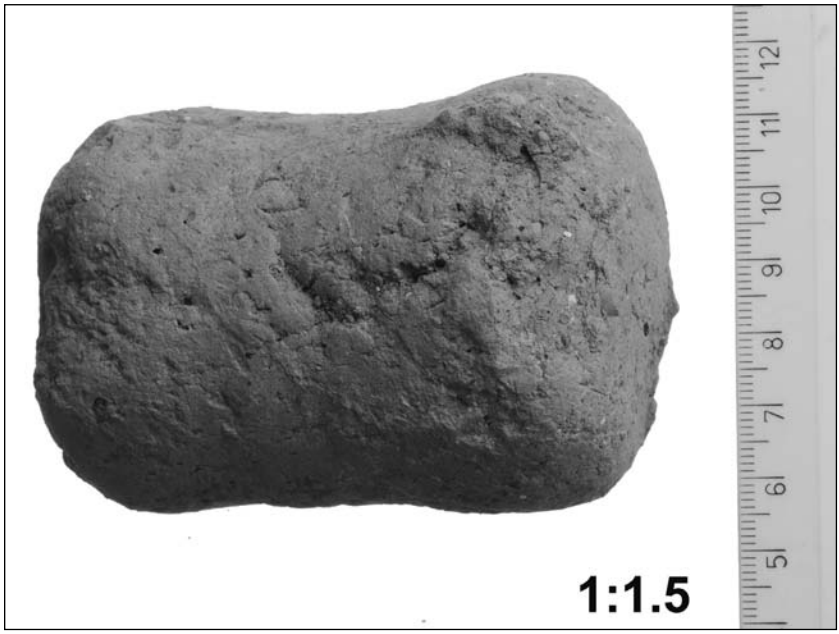


Figure 5. Clay spool from Tel Miqne/Ekron Stratum VI (Object No. 11565, Basket IVNE.9.259).

Menahem, near Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath (Ben-Shlomo 2006a: 103, Fig. 2.11).[10] Thus, it seems that in the Iron II, this type of loom weight became quite common at Syrian sites and was not limited to Philistine sites (Cecchini 2000: 219–220; Rahmstorf 2005: 153).

It seems that spools should be related to the post-palatial material culture, probably indicating a change in weaving techniques (Rahmstorf 2005: 155, 159–160). The appearance of spools occurs on Cyprus and in Philistia in the very early Iron Age I, not earlier than their occurrence in the Aegean. Furthermore, in the Aegean, these objects were not very common in earlier periods. These facts may indicate that the clay spools do not represent a Mycenaean weaving technique transferred to the east during the twelfth century, but rather that certain multilateral influences within the eastern Mediterranean contributed to the distribution of these objects and the techniques they represent, or that their appearance was due to an influence from outside the

[10] At Kfar Menahem, these spools may have been used (also?) as kiln spacers.

eastern Mediterranean.[11] Yet, their wide distribution in Syria during the Iron II may hint toward a Levantine origin for this artifact. Thus, the appearance of clay spools in relatively large quantities in Philistia, Cyprus, and Greece, during the twelfth century BCE seems to indicate a continuous communication or a *koiné*, between certain populations in all of these regions.

Discussion

After a period of two centuries of a developed Mycenaean urban palace culture on the Greek mainland, there followed a period of sudden and severe crisis. The "hearth-*wanax*" ideology of the LHIIIB changed in the twelfth century into a more "aristocratic" political structure in which power was divided or shifted among various strong families or clans (Maran 2001a, 2006a; Dickinson 2006: 61). The new sociopolitical system may have been a return to a social order of "competing chiefly groups," possibly similar to one existing in an earlier period in Mycenaean political history (Wright 1995: 72–73). This political structure may have relied on a certain "legitimacy" derived from the previous palatial system and obtained by curated symbolic items or through family lineage (Maran 2006a). In any case, it was much less centralized than the previous palatial system, and the strong connection that had previously been established between government and religion was broken (Hägg 1995; Maran 2001a: 120–121). Instability during this period is reflected in strong fortifications, large storage facilities, and destruction levels at sites such as Tiryns, Lefkandi, and Koukounaries in the Cyclades (Thomatos 2005: 78–83; Dickinson 2006: 69–72).

The collapse of the Mycenaean palatial sites in the Argolid was related possibly to an earthquake or flooding (Maran 2001a: 117), heavy droughts, or a combination of warfare and raids (see Drews 1993). On Cyprus, however, unlike in the Argolid, at most sites there is a continuation from the thirteenth to the twelfth century; a sharp change in settlement and burial patterns occurred only later, during the eleventh century (Iacovou 1998: 334–336). It is important to note however that many of the Aegeanized components appear to a large

[11] Rahmstorf (2003) suggested that these objects represent influence from other regions, such as the western Balkans.

degree already during the thirteenth century (e.g., Bunimovitz 1998: 108–109; Karageorghis 2000), that is to say, prior to the change in settlement and burial patterns.

On the background of this crisis, the arrival of the Philistines in the southern Levant has been described by several scholars as very dramatic. Stager describes two coordinated waves of attack on the coast in a "D-Day"-like event (Stager 1991: 35). Barako describes a seaborne migration (2000), while Yasur-Landau describes a terrestrial migration of large numbers of civilians, followed by a violent colonization (Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003a; yet, see Yasur-Landau 2007b, for a more gradual migration model). In support of a significant land migration, Yasur-Landau (2002: 94, 143, 244) argues that contemporary boats could carry mostly rowers, which were apparently men, and thus could not be used to transport large numbers of civilian families.

The archaeological evidence presented above concerning the domestic nature of the Philistine cultural elements, as well as certain differences among the Philistine cities, may support a less dramatic, gradual, and possibly nonviolent process of Philistine settlement, one that took several decades and included an influx of immigrants who probably arrived, to a large extent, from the sea, as this is the easiest route from the Aegean and the only route from Cyprus to the southern Levant (see also Yasur-Landau 2007b).[12] Indeed, it is a question whether this should be defined as a violent colonization strategy (Yasur-Landau 2003a: 50; see Killebrew 2005: 200–201 for other models of colonization). There is a lot of variability in the initial settlement pattern at the Philistine sites. Some of the sites do show destructions, but there is no direct proof that the destruction levels at Tel Miqne/Ekron, for example, and possibly also Gath were caused by Philistine immigrants, although this possibility cannot be dismissed, and sites like Ashdod display no evidence for destruction in the Early Iron Age levels. Moreover, if the immigrants to Philistia were mainly civilians and did not include

[12] A time span of 20–25 years could be almost unidentifiable in the archaeological record. The very earliest occupation phase in the Field INE acropolis at Ekron testifies to a period of lowkey Philistine presence (Killebrew 1998: 381–383; Gitin et al. 2006: 30–33, Phase 9D), which may reflect a gradual occupation process. This gradual process could, in theory, lower the date of the beginning of the Philistine presence by a decade or two, but not by 70 years or more as suggested by others (see, e.g., Finkelstein 1995). Such a long time span is not evident in the occupational history in the Philistine cities (see Ben-Shlomo 2006a: 76–78).

warrior classes, as some have suggested (e.g., Yasur-Landau 2003a), it is difficult to imagine this population organizing a coordinated military attack on the Canaanites living in the area of Philistia.

A large number of immigrants, divided in some way among the five major Philistine cities and possibly some of the smaller sites, would have undoubtedly had a significant effect on the society and material culture of Philistia. The different cities may have accommodated varying numbers of immigrants, which were probably dictated by the contemporary socioeconomic situation at each location. It is reasonable to suggest that, according to the changes in site size, Tel Miqne/Ekron, at least initially, received larger numbers of immigrants. Furthermore, while the Philistine material culture is often seen as a relatively homogeneous phenomenon, characteristic of all of the Pentapolis sites (Stager 1995: 345; Barako 2000: 522–524; Strange 2000: 133), a comparison of the Philistine cities shows, especially in regard to settlement size, a shifting pattern of dominance among them (Yasur-Landau 2003a: 47–49; Ben-Shlomo 2007).

Several scholars draw comparisons with contemporary material culture changes on Cyprus, but the situation there seems quite different. On Cyprus small groups did arrive by sea; however, it seems that, as they could not overcome the strong local cities, these immigrants to Cyprus chose between a number of options. Bunimovitz (1998) and Yasur-Landau (2003a: 46–47) suggest a strategy of "integration" for several sites on Cyprus, such as Kition and Enkomi, while for the secluded site of Maa-Palaeokastro, which was built *de novo*, they suggest a model of "separation." At Enkomi these migrants might have included mercenaries, as the appearance of Naue II swords may indicate (Yasur-Landau 2003a: 50). Maybe the many similarities between Enkomi, Maa-Palaeokastro, and the Philistine cities during the twelfth century, which are usually ascribed to similar origins (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 264–246), indicate instead similar settlement strategies in both Cyprus and Philistia.

The analyses of migration processes and their reflection in the archaeological record have been discussed in several studies (see, e.g., McGuire 1982; Anthony 1990, 1992; Burmeister 2000; Yasur-Landau 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2007; Sherratt 2002, 2008). Households and the domestic sphere have been shown to be especially important for recognizing the characteristics and mechanisms of migrations and the behavior of immigrants in both anthropological (e.g., Boyd 1989;

Zimmerer 2004) and archaeological (e.g., Burmeister 2000: 542–547) examples. The material culture reflected in domestic contexts and households seems to be more sensitive to the arrival of new immigrants than the one in public, monumental, and elite structures (e.g., Berry 1997: 12; Antony 2000). An analysis of a number of immigrant societies has shown that migrants usually belong neither to the highest nor to the lowest socioeconomic stratum of society (see Burmeister 2000 for references); rather, they often come from various groups of medium socioeconomic strength in their original society. Thus, it is not surprising that the cultural elements of the Aegean elite are not evident in the Philistine culture. For this reason, examining several elements of domestic material culture uncovered in households in Iron Age I Philistia is useful for analyzing what we can know of Philistine society and its relationship with its hosting society.

A number of modern examples demonstrate how the process of material culture transfer associated with immigrants can be highly selective (e.g., Cameron 1995; Chapman 1997; see Burmeister 2000: 541–542 and more references therein). In these studies, the selection criteria used to determine culture transfer include adaptability to the new environment, the ethnic, religious, and/or socioeconomic composition of the immigrant group, and the resistance of influence coming from the hosting cultures (e.g., Ostergen 1988). It is clear that immigrants create their own hybrid culture (Burmeister 2000: 546), but defining the process of cultural change that the immigrant society goes through is highly complex and problematic, particularly when adapted to archaeological examples (as shown by Burmeister 2000: 548–552, in an example of German immigration to Britain during the fifth century CE). However, although defining this process may be beyond what we can legitimately retrieve from the archaeological record, the presence of immigrants can still be seen in items of domestic material culture, especially if these items occur in significant quantities and over a substantial period of time, as is the case in Philistia and probably at several sites on Cyprus, notably Maa-Palaeokastro and Enkomi.

The evidence presented above of several artifact groups related to the culture of Philistine households may fit these behavioral models of immigrant groups and their representation in material culture. The assemblage of domestic artifacts analyzed here, including tableware, cooking vessels, and diet, spools and various terracotta figurines, which occurred in significant quantities at sites in Philistia and also on

Cyprus and lasted for a substantial period of time, reflect the activities and behavior of immigrant groups. It is suggested that these groups, and probably also individuals, living in a number of different locations in the eastern Mediterranean, maintained some form of interaction and exchange of ideas, creating a *koiné* phenomenon.

The debate concerning the origin of the Philistines and the Sea Peoples is long and unresolved and is beyond the scope of this work (for reviews, see Singer 1988; Yasur-Landau 2002: 207–211; 2003b). Various suggestions have been raised, such as the Argolid, Crete, Cyprus, western Anatolia, Cilicia, or the Dodecanese; thus far, it seems that the Philistine material culture demonstrates similarities with many of these regions (Yasur-Landau 2003b). More parallels seem to stem from Cyprus than from the other suggested areas. This is not necessarily surprising given the fact that there was a long tradition of strong connections between Cyprus and the southern Levant, yet this picture might be biased by the fact that much of the LHIIIC material from the Aegean is not yet published.

Alternatively, rather than seeking a single origin for these people, I suggest that a cultural *koiné* existed in the eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth century BCE. During this period, a mutual transfer of ideas, but not of artifacts, seems to have taken place between the Levant and other regions in the eastern Mediterranean. This should not be seen as a unilateral influence from the west. Multilateral influences may be reflected in the use of certain artifacts, such as closed cooking vessels, crude zoomorphic figurines, and clay spools, all of which were produced locally. The transfer of domestic, and possibly cultic, elements from the east to the Argolid has already been recognized in the locally made wall brackets of LHIIIB Tiryns (Maran 2004a: 15–16). It can be suggested that this phenomenon of connections between population groups, which had already started in the thirteenth century, became stronger in the twelfth century, when the palatial international system of trade in artifacts was replaced by a system of trade in ideas, and by the movement of peoples. This is a different *koiné* from that described for the LHIIIC Middle by Desborough (1964: 228) and by Mountjoy (1999: 49–51), or by Sherratt (1998), as here it is related to various movements of peoples and groups of immigrants, and continuous contacts among them during the initial stages of their settlement in the eastern Mediterranean. Mazar already suggested a similar relationship between the immigrant populations

of the southern Levant and groups on Cyprus (Mazar 1991: 103–104). This *koiné* is attested to only by several limited aspects of material culture, such as the cooking jugs, figurines, and clay spools, items that are all related to household domestic culture. This should be expected, as immigrants cannot transfer complete assemblages of material culture into their hosting cultures (see, e.g., Berry 1997) and are known to be highly selective in the cultural mannerisms in which they engage (e.g., Cameron 1995; Chapman 1997; Burmeister 2000: 541–542).

Many questions remain, such as how and why this process began, what were the trade connections and other relationships between these populations, and whether there was a common origin for these people in the Aegean or elsewhere. As we are dealing with only partial information of a very complex process, only further archaeological evidence can shed more light that may aid to answer these questions.

HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY IN LHIIIC TIRYNS[1]

Philipp Stockhammer

Although the long-term and large-scale excavations in Tiryns have produced large quantities of important data, questions regarding the use of objects in Mycenaean households, and the social practices connected therewith, have not played an important role in research until now. The series of excavations in the Northwestern Lower Town and the Lower and Upper Citadel from 1976 to 1985 under the direction of Klaus Kilian, and the fieldwork directed by Joseph Maran in cooperation with Alkestis Papadimitriou in 1999–2000 in the Northeastern Lower Town and the Lower Citadel in 2001–2003, in particular, produced a large number of meaningful contexts that can shed a new light on questions of materiality and practice in Tirynthian households in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BCE.[2] My article will mainly focus on new and important evidence from the Post-Palatial Lower Town north of the Citadel Hill of Tiryns but will also review evidence from the Palatial period of the late thirteenth century BCE, without which Post-Palatial household activities in Tiryns cannot be understood.

The main source of information for this article is my doctoral dissertation on the pottery of the Post-Palatial period and its social context (Stockhammer 2008); in the dissertation I concentrated mainly on elite household activities and the change in their performance from the Late Palatial period (LHIIIB2) into the early Post-Palatial period (LHIIIC Early) with regard to feasting activities. I define "feasting" in this context simply as performance events where a huge amount of

[1] My current research has been inspired and financed by the Heidelberg Cluster of Excellence "Asia and Europe in a Global Context." I would like to thank Joseph Maran and Tobias Mühlenbruch for intense discussions, Ursula Damm-Meinhardt for permission to illustrate the plans of horizons 17a1–a3 of the Lower Citadel from her forthcoming volume on the Palatial stratigraphy of Tiryns (Damm-Meinhardt forthcoming) and Carol Bell for correcting my English text. The results presented here are mainly based on my Ph.D. dissertation awarded in Heidelberg (Stockhammer 2008). For the abbreviations FS (Furumark Shape) and FM (Furumark Motif) cf. Furumark 1941.

[2] A detailed history of the excavation of the Lower Citadel is given by Mühlenbruch 2005.

food is consumed by a certain group of people.[3] Feasts are a means of social communication; they are the realization of societal discourses in social practice. The participants at a feast are integrated into the framework of the performance, whereas the nonparticipants are clearly dissociated. In this paper I will demonstrate that architecture and feasting are directly linked in the Mycenaean Palatial period and constitute social space.

Elite Household Activities in Palatial Tiryns

The Mycenaean Palatial period until 1200 BCE owes its name to the existence of several palatial centers on the Greek mainland: Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos on the Peloponnese. Within these palaces a king reigned with profane and sacral power. Mycenaean society was strongly hierarchical, hieratic, and tight. A complex system of administration, which controlled much of the economy, was under the control of the king. For the purpose of administration the so-called Linear B script was used. Crete had been subjected by the Mycenaean palaces and forced to pay tribute to the Greek mainland, e.g., in the form of oil, which was transported in the so-called stirrup jars that were standardized transport vessels. The palaces consisted of a complex sequence of courtyards, *propyla*, and rooms, all of which were richly decorated with wall frescoes. In Tiryns this sequence of rooms has been realized in an especially impressive manner; it is based on an overall architectural plan that was implemented at the site after the earthquake destruction of Mycenae around 1250 BCE. This earthquake destroyed the northern part of the Argolid and especially the old center of the Argolid, the citadel of Mycenae. Tiryns, however, seems to have suffered less destruction. Instead of concentrating his forces on the rebuilding of Mycenae, the king of the Argolid—called *wanax* in the Mycenaean

[3] There are myriad definitions of "feast" (for further discussion, cf. Stockhammer 2008: 295–297). Dietler and Hayden (2001: 3) consider the following the most common definition: "Feasts are events essentially constituted by the communal consumption of food and/or drink." Hayden (2001: 28) defines "feast…as any sharing between two or more people of special foods…in a meal for a special purpose or occasion"; Dietler (2001: 65) as "a form of public ritual activity centered around the communal consumption of food and drink" (similar, already, Dietler 1996: 89). For further definitions—all differing in details—cf. Clarke 2001: 145; Junker 2001: 272; Wiessner 2001: 116–117; Steel 2004: 282; Wright 2004: 133–134.

Linear B writing—decided to make Tiryns his new center of representation. The damage at Mycenae was left untouched or only poorly repaired. On the other hand, the citadel of Tiryns, situated at the bay of Nafplio and the most important harbor and central distribution center of Mycenaean Greece, became the new paramount representative center, something like a Versailles of the kingdom of Mycenae. Therefore, I regard the flourishing of late Mycenaean Tiryns until the eleventh century BCE as the result of the earthquake of 1250 BCE.

The citadel of Tiryns is subdivided into the Upper Citadel (*Oberburg*), the Middle Citadel (*Mittelburg*), and the Lower Citadel (*Unterburg*) (Fig. 1). In the course of the rebuilding of Tiryns after 1250 BCE, the old palatial buildings on the Upper Citadel were torn down and a new, richly furnished palace was erected (cf. Kilian 1988b: 132 Fig. 9). The Middle Citadel was left undeveloped; perhaps some kind of palatial guard was stationed there. At the same time, the Lower Citadel was fortified with an impressive cyclopean wall and large administrative buildings, workshops, and cultic areas were constructed there. To enlarge the Lower Town (*Unterstadt*) situated around the citadel rock of Tiryns, it became necessary to reroute the river that flooded this area regularly. For this purpose, a huge dam-and-channel system was built that led the rerouted river into the sea. The most impressive evidence of a royal presence in the context of the rebuilding of Tiryns after 1250 BCE is the palace on the Upper Citadel, which was already excavated by Heinrich Schliemann in the late nineteenth century. The palace consists of a complex sequence of courtyards and *propyla* with a megaron at its center that was furnished with a throne and a big central round hearth that was surrounded by four columns.[4] Apart from its symbolic character, the palace architecture was part of the social space that was constituted by the practices performed within it. The different activities that took place within these courtyards and rooms at Tiryns are hardly reconstructable as the pottery from Schliemann's excavation of the palace has been lost. However, we can get an idea of these practices by examining the palace of Pylos in Messenia, in the southwestern Peloponnese.

The palace of Pylos was used at the same time as its Tirynthian counterpart in the thirteenth century BCE. Like the palace of Tiryns, it

[4] For the performative character of Mycenaean palatial architecture cf. Küpper 1996: 111–118; Maran 2006b.

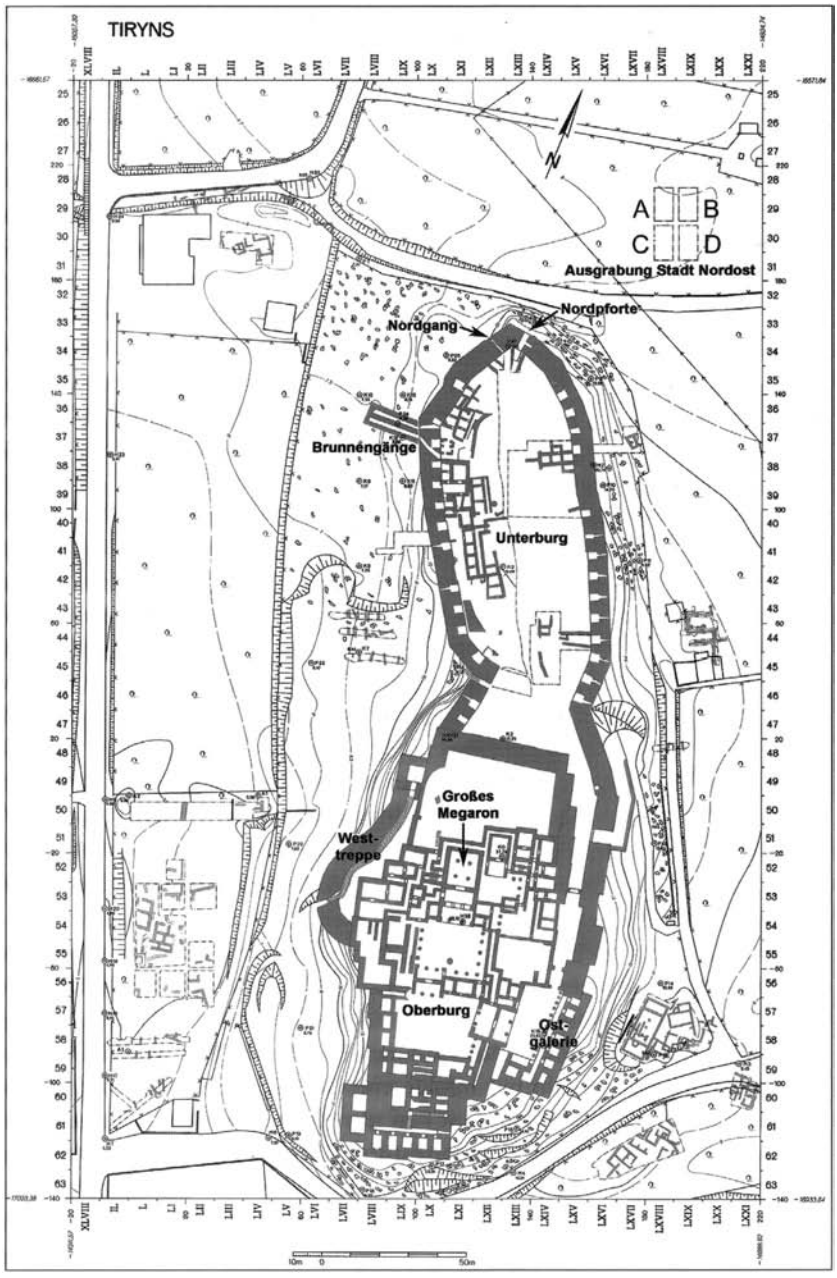


Figure 1. Tiryns, LHIIIB2: plan of the Citadel Hill and the Lower Town (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006: 100 Fig. 1; with kind permission by J. Maran).

consisted of a sequence of representational courtyards and rooms with a megaron at its center that was also furnished with a round hearth and the king's throne along the right wall. The palace of Pylos was destroyed by fire around 1200 BCE, which led to the excellent preservation of its furnishings. Lisa Bendall (2004: 112–124, 126) was able to reconstruct the performance of feasts at Pylos by the distribution of pottery and metal vessels; I adopted and enlarged this reconstruction in my Ph.D. dissertation (Stockhammer 2008: 297–301). As the complete ceramic equipment of the palace—about 8540 vessels—was preserved *in situ*,[5] Pylos is of special interest for understanding the connection between architecture and feasting in the Mycenaean Palatial period. The greatest number of vessels, which largely comprises feasting dishes, was found in only a few so-called pantries. The composition and quality of the pottery in the different pantries varied, although the functional spectrum of the vessels in each pantry is very similar. Remains of metal vessels were concentrated in the megaron building. The spatial distribution of the ceramic and metal vessels permits the reconstruction of the performative character of feasting events in Pylos (Fig. 2): each participant had different possibilities of admission into the different courtyards and rooms of the palace depending on his position in the social hierarchy. While the largest number of people stood in courtyard 58[6] at the front of the palace and were supplied with qualitatively minor pottery out of room 60, another group of participants had access to the great interior courtyard 63/88, where they could drink from qualitatively better ceramic dishes that were brought out of pantries 18–22. A smaller group of participants feasted in courtyard 3, in front of the megaron, where they were served with unpainted drinking vessels from room 9 and elaborately painted mixing vessels from room 32. As shown by the spatial distribution of the metal vessels—bronze and silver dishes, and possibly even gold dishes, were used inside the megaron itself.[7] The participants that were permitted entrance into the interior-most room of the palace were part of the ruler's inner circle. The wall frescoes found in the throne room

[5] For more detailed information on the ceramic equipment of Pylos, see Blegen and Rawson 1966; Whitelaw 2001.

[6] For the numbers of rooms and courtyards in Pylos, see Blegen and Rawson 1966: Key Plan.

[7] Bendall 2004: 122–123. Already Blegen and Rawson (1966: 350) assumed that the elite of Pylos used such vessels (cf. also Knappett 2001: 84).

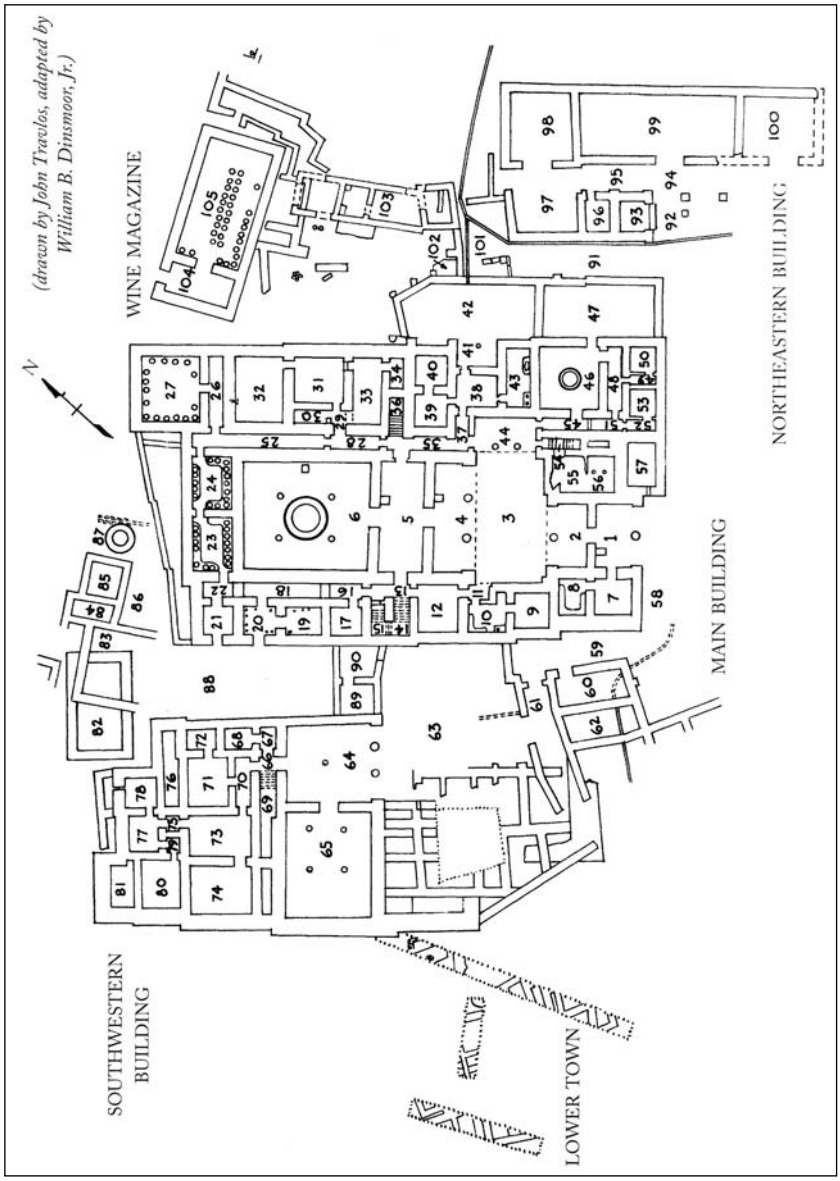


Figure 2. Pylos, LHIIIB: plan of the palace (Blegen and Rawson 2001: back cover inside; courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

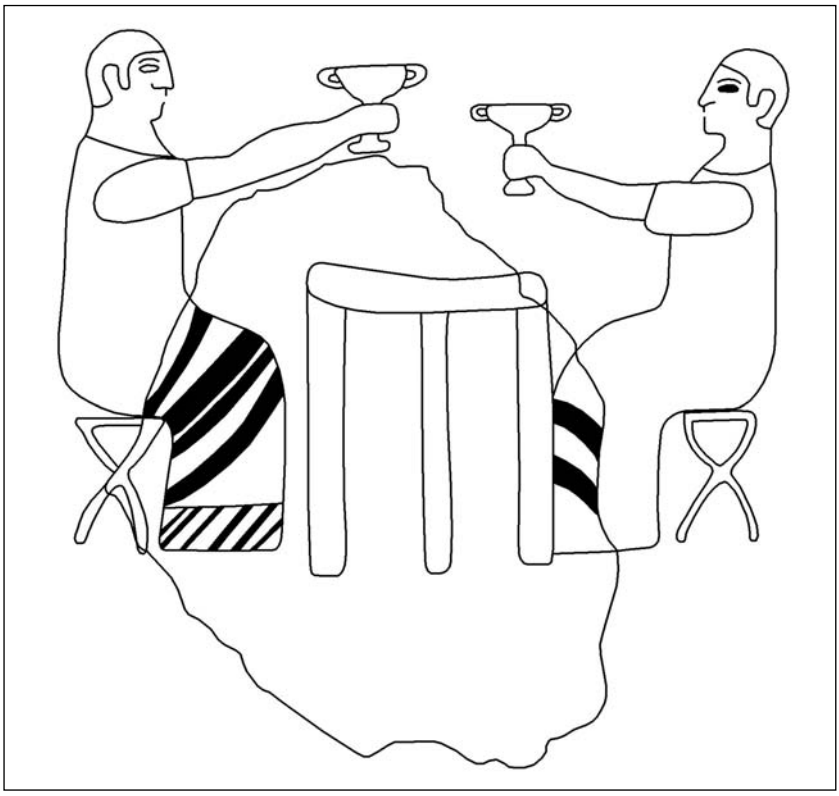


Figure 3. Pylos, LHIIIB: Detail of the feasting fresco from the central room of the megaron (detail from Wright 2004: 163 Fig. 13; courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

show the members of the elite sitting in pairs at small tables in the megaron (Fig. 3). The king, however, seems to have been seated alone on his throne along the northeastern wall of the room. The inventory lists of chairs and tables for feasting preparations found at Pylos also point to pairs of drinkers. For example, the Ta-tablets list 22 chairs and 11 tables as feasting furniture, which was probably arranged in a way similar to the depiction in the feasting fresco.[8]

[8] For the feasting fresco cf. Wright 2004: 163 Fig. 13. The drinking vessels on the feasting fresco from Pylos are reconstructed after the Campstool fresco in the palace of Knossos, where the drinkers hold kylikes or chalices in their hand; for the inventory lists, see Palaima 2000: 237; 2004: 235. Therefore, Stocker and Davis (2004: 191) consider it meaningful that 22 miniature kylikes were found together with burnt cattle

The architecture of the palace and the distribution of finds suggest a hierarchy of feasting in which every participant had a place in or in front of the palace corresponding to his position in society. Every participant got his own drinking vessel; everyone was allotted his portion.[9] One's spatial position in the context of feasting was a direct image of one's social position. Feasting in the Palatial period can therefore be regarded as the enforcement and illustration of a preexisting, tight, and strongly hierarchical social order.

Although no pottery has been preserved from the palace in Tiryns, its architectural concept shows similarities to that at Pylos to such a large extent that the concepts of feasting identified in Pylos should also have been realized in Tiryns. Therefore, one can conclude that different parts of the population had different access to the three huge courtyards in the palace area in Tiryns as well. Those who had no access to the palatial feastings at all were outsiders in all respects, as the practices performed in the courtyards were not visible from outside, e.g., from the Lower Citadel or the Lower Town.[10]

Elite Household Activities in Post-Palatial Tiryns

The Palatial period came to a sudden end around 1200 BCE, when the already weakened social system broke down. A combination of several earthquakes, economic problems, and social conflicts resulting from the exploitation of subjects and warlike operations was probably responsible for this catastrophe. Mycenae, Pylos, and Tiryns were destroyed by huge fires within a short period of time. The tight hierarchical social system, the centralized administration, the writing, and most of the specialized crafts ended together with the palaces; however, the Mycenaean culture as such did not. In the Post-Palatial period, Tiryns experienced a unique efflorescence and, as a result, is

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and deer bones in room 7, as they may represent animal sacrifice in the context of feasting activities. They attribute these 22 vessels to the 22 members of the feasting elite who were sitting on the 22 chairs (cf. also Sherratt 2004: 321–322 n. 80).

[9] Day and Wilson (2004: 57) emphasize the fact that this is a totally different kind of social interaction compared to the use of one collective drinking vessel: "One would have to serve/be served from the larger bowls to individual receptacles, emphasizing the position of the individual within the social milieu."

[10] For the performative character of the practices conducted in the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, see Maran 2006b and 2006c.

regarded as one of the most important sources for this period on the Greek mainland. After the destructions of ca. 1200 BCE, a large number of refugees moved to Tiryns and built a sizeable settlement around the devastated citadel (Kilian 1978a: 468, 470; 1980: 171). The Upper Citadel, where once the king's palace had stood, was left in ruins. In the center of the palace's ruins, however, a small isolated building was erected, which probably served as an assembly room for the new elite: a new megaron within the old one (cf. Maran 2000, 2001a). This new megaron replaced the palatial throne, but it was not furnished with a new one or a new huge central round hearth. In this new building, it was not an almighty king who ruled and sacrificed like the *wanax* of the Palatial period. Instead, it probably served as the meeting place of the heads of influential families that did not have their residential houses on the Upper Citadel. The ruins of the destroyed palace were left standing around the new building as a memorial of a bygone form of rule, and the elites of the Post-Palatial period built their residences in the new settlement around the citadel rock.

Important insights into the Post-Palatial Lower Town of Tiryns were revealed by the excavations conducted to the north of the Lower Citadel.[11] The results of the two excavations north of the Tirynthian Citadel were especially fruitful because this area had been left undeveloped since the beginning of the thirteenth century BCE, because it was situated in an area flooded by a river. This river was rerouted after 1250 BCE by the construction of a huge dam-and-channel system that created potential building land. However, no building activity can be detected in that area prior to the ca. 1200 BCE destruction of the palace. The part of the Lower Town north of the Citadel was situated on relatively sterile river sediments; therefore, it can be deduced that the excavated artifacts found in the Northeastern and Northwestern Lower Town were all brought to this area in the Post-Palatial period, be it intentionally as household equipment or unintentionally as small sherds mixed into the earth used as mudbrick material. In the following,

[11] The initial excavations in this area took place northwest of the Citadel, called the "Northwestern Lower Town," under the supervision of Klaus Kilian in 1976 (*Stadt-Nordwest*; Kilian 1978a; Mühlenbruch 2005). A further excavation was undertaken to the northeast of the Lower Citadel, the so-called Northeastern Lower Town, under the supervision of Joseph Maran in cooperation with the Fourth Ephorate of the Greek Antiquity Service in 1999 and 2000 (*Stadt-Nordost*; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006).

I will focus on some selected well-preserved vessels, which I assume were brought intentionally into the Post-Palatial buildings there.

Significant architectural remains of the first settlement phase (LHIIIC Early) after the destruction of Tiryns were only preserved in the Northwestern Lower Town. Despite a lack of architectural evidence and closed *in situ* floor deposits, a number of complete or restorable pots were also found in Phase 1 in the Northeastern Lower Town. In the bulk of pottery from this settlement phase, three vessels stand out the presence of which in a Post-Palatial context is surprising: a jug with a cutaway neck (FS 136) whose shoulder depicts a staggered arrangement of vertical whorl-shells (FM 23: 9) with a knob and a small dot rosette (FM 27: 23) under the handle base (Fig. 4: 120); the majority of a qualitatively outstanding conical-piriform stirrup jar (FS 166) that features a polished surface and glossy orange paint (Fig. 5: 66); and many fragments of a large piriform jar (FS 19) bearing a frieze of argonauts (FM 22) on the shoulder zone with their arms stylized as spirals (Fig. 4: 2435).

The analysis of formal, stylistic, and technical features suggests that these three vessels were produced long before the Post-Palatial period. The jug with the cutaway neck was probably produced in LHIIIB1 (early thirteenth century BCE). The stirrup jar finds its best parallels in LHIIIA2 Mycenae, e.g., the stirrup jars from Petsas's House (Papadimitriou and Petsas 1950: esp. 208 Fig. 6; French 1965: 171–172). The piriform jar from the Northwestern Lower Town should be dated to LHIIIA1 at the latest, based on the argonaut motif (cf. Niemeier 1985: 24–28; Mountjoy 1986: 52–53. esp. 53 Fig. 58) and was therefore produced at the beginning of the fourteenth century BCE, which means that the vessel was already two-hundred years old when it broke in the context of its use in the Lower Town. These three vessels were certainly brought to the Lower Town after the destruction of the palace. Consequently, there is evidence that, immediately after 1200 BCE, the inhabitants of Tiryns had access to pottery that was over one-century old. It is hard to imagine that those vessels could have survived the earthquake that destroyed Tiryns at the end of the Palatial period inside the settlement's buildings, and large ceramic vessels were probably not the inhabitants' first choice of salvage as they fled. In my view, the only plausible explanation is that, at the beginning of the Post-Palatial period, some families took conspicuous, representational vessels out of the old, often still-used, chamber tombs in their surroundings and integrated them into their household pottery repertoire. Therefore, it

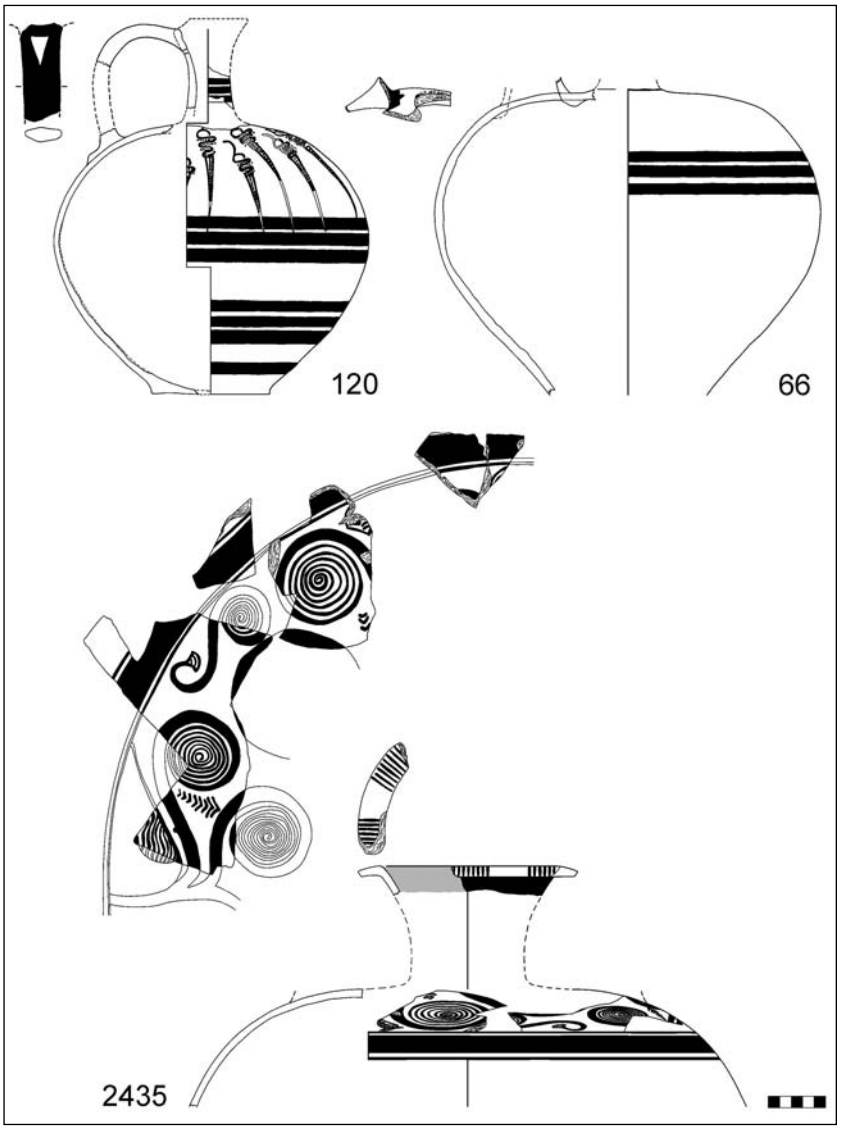


Figure 4. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town (66 and 120) and Northwestern Lower Town (2435), phase 1, LH III C Early 1/2: painted fine ware. For the vessels' numbers cf. the catalogue of Stockhammer 2008.

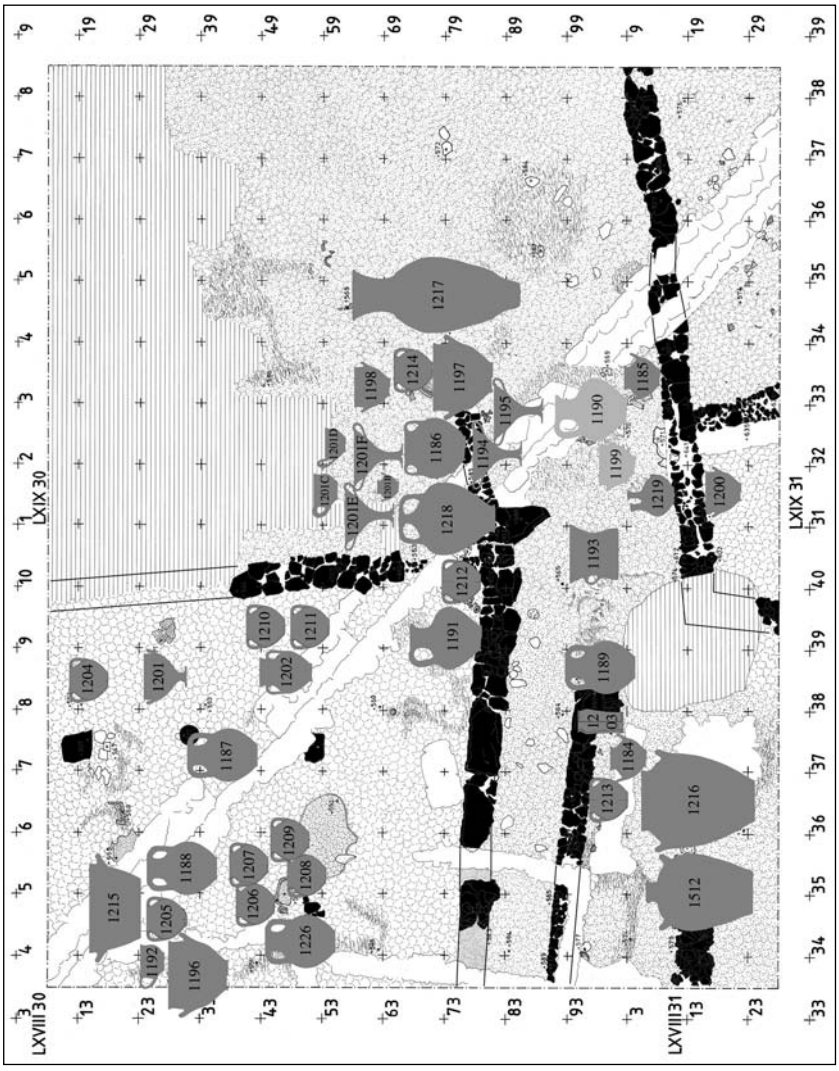


Figure 5. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 2, LHIIIC Early 2: vessels found in situ; for vessel numbers, see the catalogue of Stockhammer 2008.

is not surprising that the best parallels for two of the three vessels from the Lower Town are found in the Palatial chamber tombs of the Argolid, especially at Asine.[12]

I believe that the meaning of these vessels for the inhabitants of Tiryns should be seen in the context of a semiotic transformation from the Palatial to the Post-Palatial period. At the end of the Palatial period, the rule of the *wanax* and his power over images and symbols both broke down. Some palatial media came to an end with the palatial system. Others, like ivory carving and fresco painting, continued, but on a much reduced scale (cf. Maran 2006a: 127–128, 134–135 n. 19). These developments may have been the result of a shortage of raw materials, the absence of potential customers, or social restrictions (Rutter 1992: 62, 65, 70, 72 n. 10; Maran 2006a: 128, 142–144). The liberation of media from the monopolized palatial canon resulted in the symbolic revaluation of media, like pottery, that were still accessible to the surviving old elites and those trying to join this social group after the destruction of the palaces. The end of the palaces seems to have led to the replacement of the *wanax* and his administrative system by a group of aristocratic families. The strong and tight hierarchies were replaced by a dynamic and permeable social system. The social position of one's family was based on a network of personal relations and had to be defended and justified on a constant basis. In this new system, conditions or characteristics such as family traditions, peer groups, and/or certain qualifications could play an essential part in the competition for social roles. In order to improve their position in this contest for power and legitimacy, members of the elite manipulated their material surroundings. Therefore, feasting in the Post-Palatial period took place against a completely different social background; it now provided a special opportunity to win respect, prestige, and, ultimately, moral authority, which enabled people to exert political influence in a society with permeable hierarchies. With regard to pottery, this was manifested in increasing depictions of competition, hunting, and fighting scenes in pictorial pottery (Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a: 64; 1991b: 147–149; 1994: 20–22; 1995: 376; Rutter 1992: 63;

[12] The best parallels for the amphora were found in necropolis I, chamber tomb 2 of Asine, e.g., a conical-piriform amphora FS 19 with argonauts on the shoulder zone (Frödin and Persson 1938: 379 Fig. 248, 3; 380) and another conical-piriform amphora FS 34 with vertical whorl-shells, rosettes, and monochrome-painted knobs on the shoulder zone (Frödin and Persson 1938: 378, 379 Fig. 248, 2).

Güntner 2000: 198; Maran 2006a: 143). Considering the important social function of common feasting, it was highly possible, and probably desirable, to acquire a set of pottery that represented the spirit of the palatial system in its heyday. What could be more obvious than helping oneself to the objects in one's family chamber tomb when it was opened for a new burial? It is also possible that some vessels were taken from the chamber tombs of those families that did not survive the catastrophic events at the end of the Palatial period. An antique set of pottery enabled a family to show off its old traditions before guests and thus lay claim to an important position in the Post-Palatial period (cf. also Deger-Jalkotzy 1991a: 64–66; 1991b: 148–149; 1995: 375–376; 1996: 25; Maran 2001a: 119–121; 2006a: 142–144).

More insights into the self-representation of the Post-Palatial elite are gained by considering the evidence from the second settlement phase in the Northeastern Lower Town. Of special importance in this context is a building with the large room 8/00, divided by at least two parallel rows of columns on stone bases (Maran and Papadimitriou 2006: 105, 108–111). This room was arranged around a courtyard with other buildings. Architecturally, this building belongs to the small number of typical Post-Palatial buildings that includes the Post-Palatial megaron on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns, the so-called megaron W in the Southeastern Lower Town of Tiryns and the Post-Palatial megaron at Midea (Walberg 1995: 87–89; Maran 2000: 12–13; 2004b: 278; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006: 110). It can therefore be considered the residential building of an elite family of Post-Palatial Tiryns. Room 8/00 differs from most of the contemporaneous buildings in Tiryns and the other Post-Palatial settlements not only because of its sheer size and the rows of columns, but also in its use of exceptionally large ashlars (Maran 2001b: 640; 2001c: 30; 2004b: 278; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006: 105) and its ceramic equipment, which I will discuss later.

Around 1150 BCE, at the end of pottery phase LHIIIC Early, room 8/00 was destroyed by fire. In this special case, we can speak of a "Pompeii effect," which is shown by the cooking pots still found standing on the hearth containing bones cut into pieces,[13] showing that the soup

[13] Inside one of the cooking amphorae, the lower jaw of a pig of three-years or younger was found. It had been cut into several pieces—one of which still contained a molar—in order to extract the marrow. Boiling of butchered lower jaws has also been documented in Khamalevri on Crete in LMI, where a lower jaw and several teeth of a goat were found inside of a cooking amphora (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999: 68).

or stew was still cooking when the building burned down. The clay roof collapsed into the room, whereas the room's eastern wall fell over the courtyard, covering the vessels that were in use at the moment of the destruction. It can be deduced from the spatial distribution of the complete vessels in room 8/00 and in the courtyard that the fire broke out while feasting activities were taking place in the courtyard in front of room 8/00. This exceptional situation documents the spatial and material staging of Post-Palatial feasting in a unique manner. Fig. 5 shows the spatial position of all vessels that I assume were *in situ*.[14] I try to take the vessels' different dimensions into account here; however, one has to consider that vessels were only preserved *in situ* in those areas of the courtyard that were covered by the room's collapsed wall. As already mentioned, the position of some cooking pots and their contents show that the fire broke out while food was being prepared. Four of the ten nearly identical cooking amphorae (FS 66) were found on the hearth (Fig. 7: 1207; Stockhammer 2008: cat. nos. 1206–1209), another was found in the entrance area, and one in the courtyard. It appears that some inhabitants of room 8/00 were busy preparing huge amounts of food and had already taken one cooking pot with prepared food to the courtyard and placed it next to the only ceramic food dish that was found in the context of room 8/00: a deep bowl (FS 284; Fig. 6: 1198) with running spiral decoration (FM 46). The absence of shallow and deep bowls in the ceramic inventory of the room is surprising, as these forms regularly dominate Palatial and Post-Palatial ceramic assemblages. I explain this lack of ceramic food dishes by the use of metal plates that were retrieved from the room or the courtyard at the outbreak of the fire.

For the purpose of the feast, nearly all of the drinking vessels from room 8/00 had been carried out into the courtyard and placed in pairs. Two pairs of nearly identical kylikes were arranged to the north and to the south of the entrance (FS 274; Fig. 6: 1194, 1195; Stockhammer 2008: cat. nos. 1194, 1195, 1201E, 1201F). In each pair, one kylix was of slightly greater volume than the other. One might ask if the different volumes reflect social imbalances in the pairs of drinkers, such as hierarchical differences or gender disparity. A pair of small cups

[14] The numbers on the vessels are the catalogue numbers under which these vessels are listed and discussed in my Ph.D. dissertation (Stockhammer 2008). All vessels from the inventory of room 8/00 are illustrated there.

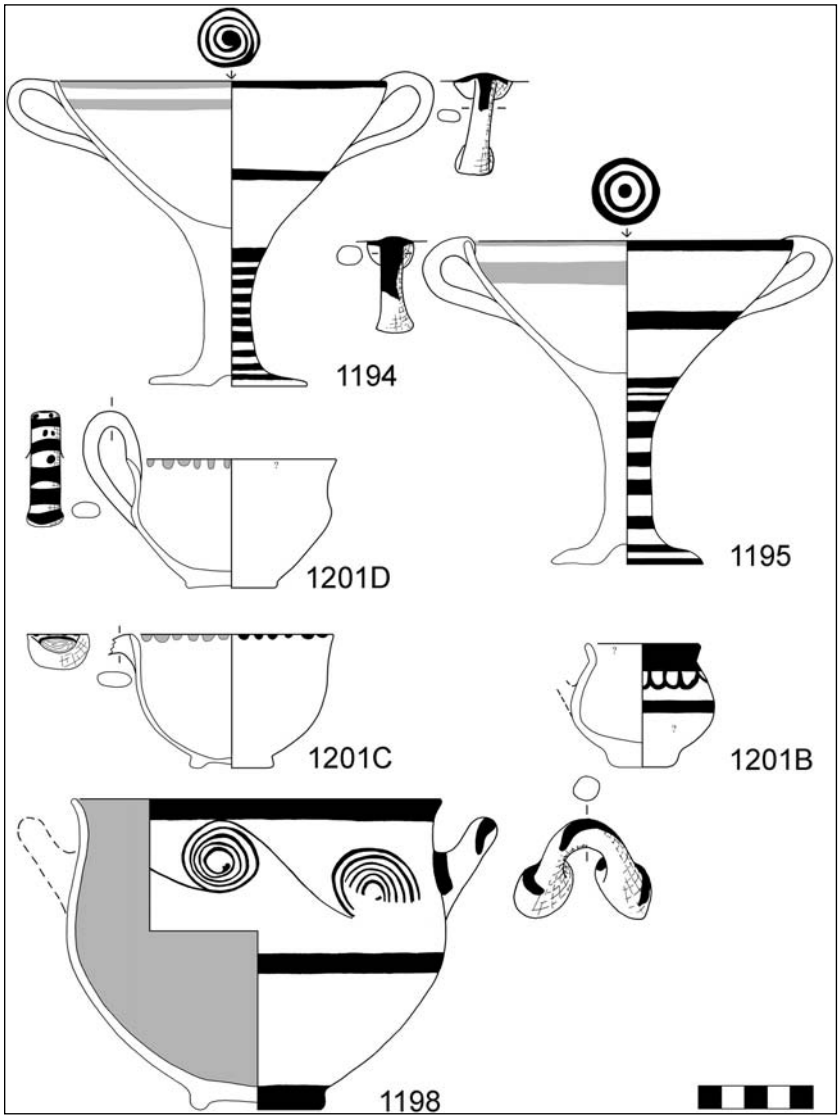


Figure 6. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 2, LHIIIC Early 2: vessels found *in situ*; painted fineware; for vessel numbers, see the catalogue of Stockhammer 2008.

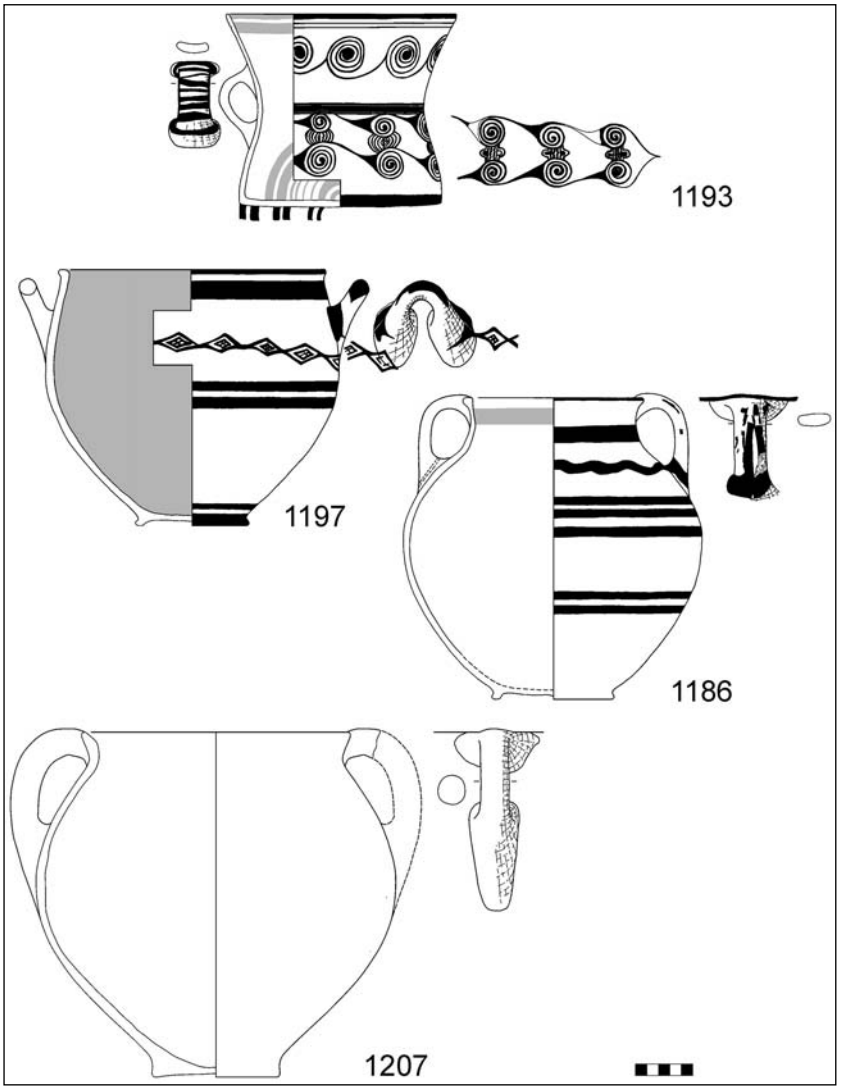


Figure 7. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 2, LHIIIC Early 2: vessels found *in situ*; painted fineware (1186, 1193, 1197) and cooking ware (1207); for vessel numbers, see the catalogue of Stockhammer (2008).

(FS 215 and FS 240; Fig. 6: 1201C. 1201D) was placed on the floor alongside one pair of kylikes; these were used either for drinking or for filling the kylikes. The placement of the drinking vessels in pairs is an obvious reference to palatial feasting. The frescoes in the palaces of Knossos and Pylos depict pairs of drinkers and lead me to this assumption. The hosts of this Post-Palatial feast probably wanted to boast their family's old tradition through this arrangement.

Another reference to palatial traditions can be seen in another drinking vessel, the so-called mug (FS 226; Fig. 7: 1193). It is easy to imagine that the large, marvelously painted mug, which was found immediately south of the building, was offered to guests as a drinking vessel during receptions. It was certainly produced by a Post-Palatial potter who combined features of Palatial mugs of the late fourteenth century BCE with decorative elements characteristic of the early twelfth century. The ridges under the rim and at the waist, together with the division of the painted pattern into two zones, point to LHIIIA2/B1, because in LHIIIB2 the ridges disappear and the decoration runs continuously from rim to base. These archaic features were eclectically combined by the potter with an elaborate running spiral (FM 46) to yield an updated product that was rooted in ancient tradition. It seems likely that such an object was ordered by the aristocratic family who resided in room 8/00 with its double row of columns. It is important to consider that large mugs were not an important vessel type in the palatial tableware, as exemplified in the Pylos assemblage; only three mugs were found among the roughly 8540 vessels in the Pylos pantries, representing only 0.035% of the assemblage.

The kylikes had a capacity of only 0.35–0.55 liters, and the mug could be filled with up to three liters of alcoholic beverage. As this is the drinking vessel with the largest possible volume, I suggest that the social importance of this form rose in the context of the small-scale aristocratic feasts of the Post-Palatial period. Because of its form and capacity, the mug was best suited to be passed around among the heads of the elite families of this time. I would like to explain the use of the mug as a real or idealized representation of the Post-Palatial social system as played out in feasting practices. By drinking from the same vessel, the participants in a feast could demonstrate their identification as peers, at least in the ritual of common drinking. The host was, therefore, only a *primus inter pares* and not some ruler dissociated from the rest of the elite like the *wanax*. It remains an open question how equal the aristocratic families of Post-Palatial Tiryns actually

were; the mug only suggests an idea of how an official image of power relations might be represented in feasting rituals. It is of special interest that only in Phase 1 of the Northeastern Lower Town were old vessels taken from chamber tombs to be used for feasts. Only a few years later, did the elite show obvious preference for eclectic or unique vessels, like the mug, that combined old motifs with new. Therefore, elite self-representation in the form of objects and performance in the context of feasting combine between references to the past and to the present, as manifested in the pairs of drinkers and the mug. I consider two very different processes as possible explanations; these, however, are not mutually exclusive.

In the first place, the replacement of a clear reference to the past by a combination of references to present and past could reflect the fact that young aristocrats of the Post-Palatial period had no personal experience with the palatial past as they were either not old enough or not yet born when the palatial system broke down. Of course, the memory of the palatial past was still very present in society. I assume that an important number of contemporary witnesses were still alive twenty to thirty years after the catastrophe and were able to tell the young generation about it. The appearance of a reference to the present in the feasting dishes can therefore be explained as the beginning of a transformation of memory from personal experience to narrated history.

Another explanation for the change in references and the motivations behind them is suggested by ethnoarchaeological research by D. Miller (1982, 1985) on the production and meaning of pottery in the Indian village of Dangwara. Members of this community used pottery in a systematic way to stress their own position within the hierarchical caste system (Miller 1982: 91–94; 1985: 154–160). Moreover, Miller was able to demonstrate a dynamic process in this system of symbolic communication: although the membership of a particular caste is fixed by birth, members of the lower castes intentionally use vessels that are associated with the next higher caste. As a consequence, the representatives of the higher caste demand new vessel types from the potters in order to dissociate themselves from the members of the next lower caste. This emulation results in the creation of ever-changing forms of status representation (Miller 1982: 89–90. 94–96; 1985: 185–187). It is of particular interest that, in some cases, it was not so much the presence of elite pottery forms in lower castes that bothered the members of the elite, but rather the improper use of these vessels that induced

the elite to renounce these "contaminated" forms (Miller 1985: 187). This may possibly explain why there was no continuous use of antique dishes in Tiryns in the Phase 2 settlement in the Lower City. As old vessels could be easily taken out of chamber tombs by non-elite segments of the society as well, the elite of early Post-Palatial Tiryns quickly refrained from incorporating such dishes into their feasting equipment.

However, the material evidence of the feast, which was so exceptionally preserved by the burned destruction of room 8/00, also shows a second level of reference that was used by the family for the sake of self-representation: a reference to geographical distance. This reference to remote places and the demonstration of knowledge of distant people and customs is materialized in a number of different aspects. The marvelous mug shows long-distance relationships, as exceptionally designed mugs appear simultaneously and for the first time in Tiryns; in Miletos, on the coast of Asia Minor (Mountjoy 2004a: 191 Fig. 1.1; 196); and in Maa-Palaeokastro, on Cyprus (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: Pl. 49: 239, 316, 352, 581). In my view, these findings indicate a supraregional idea of elite feasting.

An even more obvious sign of supraregional interaction and its representation in feasting performance is seen in the other feasting vessels, such as a krater, which was probably used to mix water, wine, and spices, and would have been necessary to fill the abovementioned pairs of kylikes. According to the evidence, a small krater (FS 281; Fig. 7: 1197) with a volume of seven liters was found in the courtyard. All four kylikes in the courtyard could be filled thrice with this krater. The spices were presumably kept in a miniature vessel (Fig. 6: 1201B), and the wine in an amphora (Fig. 7: 1186), both of which were placed directly beside the krater. Perhaps the water was taken outside with the jug (Stockhammer 2008: cat. no. 1191) that was found near the threshold of room 8/00. The amphora (Fig. 7: 1186) is of special interest, as its closest comparison in form and decoration is found on Crete, at Kommos (Watrous 1992: Pl. 50: 1345), and on Cyprus, e.g., in Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: Pl. 124: 18 [235]; Pl. 76: 3 [4457/3]). However, the context from Kommos is dated to LMIIIB and, therefore, slightly earlier, and the context at Enkomi is slightly later (cf. Mountjoy 2005). Together with the mug, then, the amphora points to the host's wish to demonstrate his far-reaching network of communication in the performance of the feast.

The most obvious evidence for the staging of the family's long-distance relations is seen in the placement of a huge Minoan transport stirrup jar (FS 164; Fig. 8: 1218) on the threshold right outside the building. During Palatial times, these stirrup jars seem to have been stored under lock and key in special places in Mycenae, Thebes, and Tiryns (Maran 2005: 417). Although it is probable that they were not frequently displayed in public, their meaning as an import from subjugated Crete—maybe as part of some tribute the island had to pay (Maran 2005: 427–428)—was generally understood. It contradicts all practical experience to place a huge transport vessel with a relatively small base—and therefore relatively precariously poised—directly in a place of maximum activity, such as a threshold. In my view, the placement of the stirrup jar has to be interpreted as a deliberate act of nonverbal communication. The architectural symbolism of its position was quite impressive for Post-Palatial times. The room with its double row of columns would have struck the visitor first of all because of its dimensions, which were unusual during this period. The monumental character of the room was reinforced by the use of large single blocks of stone in the foundation courses of the walls. Irrespective of the continuation of the tribute situation presumed for the Palatial period, the Minoan stirrup jar standing in front of the model building demonstrated that the head of the *oikos* had far-reaching contacts like the *wanax* of Palatial times, and was still able to obtain those vessels from Crete. The change of context from the Palatial period, during which a large number of these stirrup jars were kept inside storage facilities, to the Post-Palatial placement of a single imported stirrup jar in front of one's doorway, reinforces the change of meaning and the symbolic revaluation of this vessel type in the Post-Palatial period.

Taken together with the elaborate architecture of room 8/00, the exotic appearance of the feasting vessels and the huge imported stirrup jar were instruments in the family's feasting performance, demonstrating its extensive communication networks. The combination of the references to these networks and to the Palatial past with the placement of the kylikes in pairs and the historicizing form of the mug turned the feasting in front of room 8/00 into an act of elite self-representation in order to corroborate the claim for an outstanding position of the family in Post-Palatial Tiryns. It remains unclear which function should be attributed to the other three vessels placed in the courtyard (Stockhammer 2008: cat. nos. 1185, 1217, 1219). Together

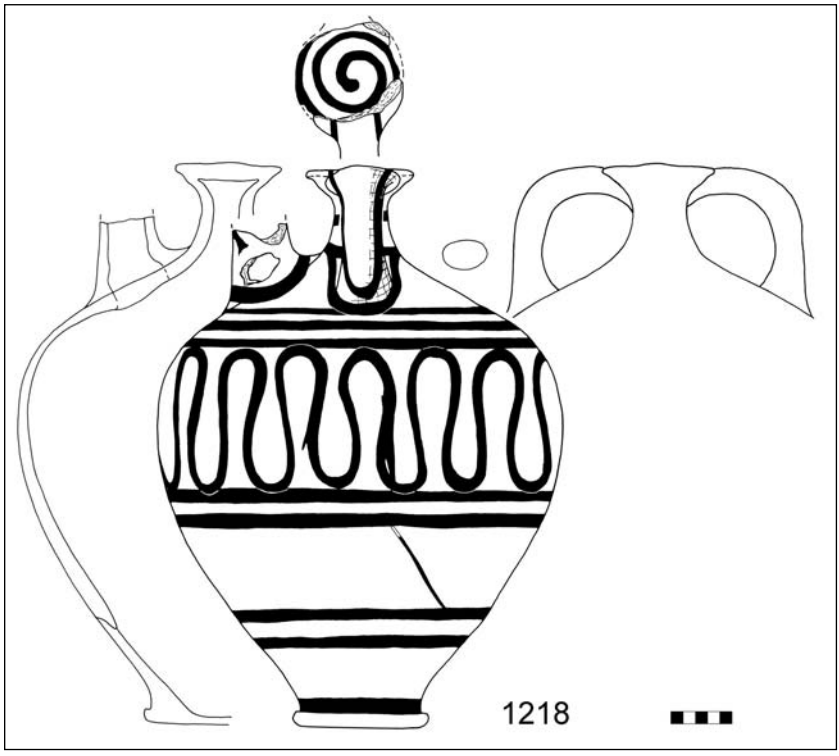


Figure 8. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 2, LHIIIC Early 2: Minoan transport stirrup jar found in situ; for vessel number, see the catalogue of Stockhammer 2008.

with the majority of the cooking pots, several other vessels, such as the storage vessels, which were left standing in the long and narrow storage room south of room 8/00, were not in use during the feast. The same is true for a ceramic tube (Stockhammer 2008: cat. no. 1203) that was probably used for vaporizing opium on a hearth (cf. Kritikos 1960: 69–70; Stockhammer 2008: 172–173). As the feasting took place in the open air, the ceramic tube was left in the storeroom. At least it was not a case of drug abuse that led to the fire that destroyed room 8/00.

The elite status of the inhabitants of room 8/00 is also evidenced by the absence of Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW). In Tiryns and other settlements in Mycenaean Greece, HBW appeared, for the first time, in the Late Palatial period, in the thirteenth century BCE. It can most certainly be connected with emigrants from southern and central Italy (Popham and Milburn 1971: 340 n. 8; Jung 2006: 24–39; Kilian

2007; for a detailed discussion, cf. Stockhammer 2008: 283–285) who moved to the Greek mainland. The intense discussion about the origin of the HBW producers has resulted in a lack of inquiry into the position of these migrants within Mycenaean society. Different suggestions have been made about the status of the foreigners in Mycenaean Greece, but these hypotheses have not been tested due to the lack of meaningful archaeological evidence from Mycenaean settlements. These suggestions have varied from invading warriors in the context of a supposed Urnfield migration or a Sea Peoples' invasion (Deger-Jalkotzy 1977: 50–54, 62–89; Schachermeyr 1980: 53, 60–61), immigrant workers (Kilian 1978b; Pilides 1994: 73, 111; Kilian 2007), metal craftsmen (Eder and Jung 2005: 486; Kilian 2007), merchants and mercenaries (Pålsson Hallager 1985: 305; Eder and Jung 2005: 486), to foreign slaves (Bankoff et al. 1996: 200–204) who might have been displaced to Mycenaean Greece. Whatever their status, this group of people preserved their own cooking and eating practices abroad. Outside their Italian homeland, the immigrants continued to produce their traditional cooking, eating, and drinking vessels, either because the repertoire of the Mycenaean and other eastern Mediterranean potters did not meet their needs or because they wanted to uphold their own traditions.

The spatial distribution of the pottery in the Lower Citadel and the Lower Town of Tiryns is of special interest with regard to the social status of the producers of the HBW. Until recently, research on HBW was dominated by the opinion that this pottery, as well as the Mycenaean cooking ware, shows no meaningful spatial distribution patterns within a settlement (Kilian 1980: 190 n. 144; 1983: 293; 1985: 82; 1988b: 133; Bankoff et al. 1996: 199). However, the spatial distribution of HBW and Mycenaean cooking ware has hardly been analyzed and, in this context, the excavations in Tiryns can offer completely new insights. Already, Kilian (2007) recognized the lack of HBW in rooms with high quality furnishings (evidenced by small finds, rhyta, etc.)[15] in the Palatial Lower Citadel, e.g., in Building I and Building VI

[15] For the finds from Building I, rooms 7–10 (e.g., agate seal, lead seal, bird's head appliqué from the upper floor of Building I) and Building VI (cultic horns with stucco covering in room 123; at least one conical rhyton with probable ritual function in room 130): Rahmstorf 2008; Damm-Meinhardt forthcoming.

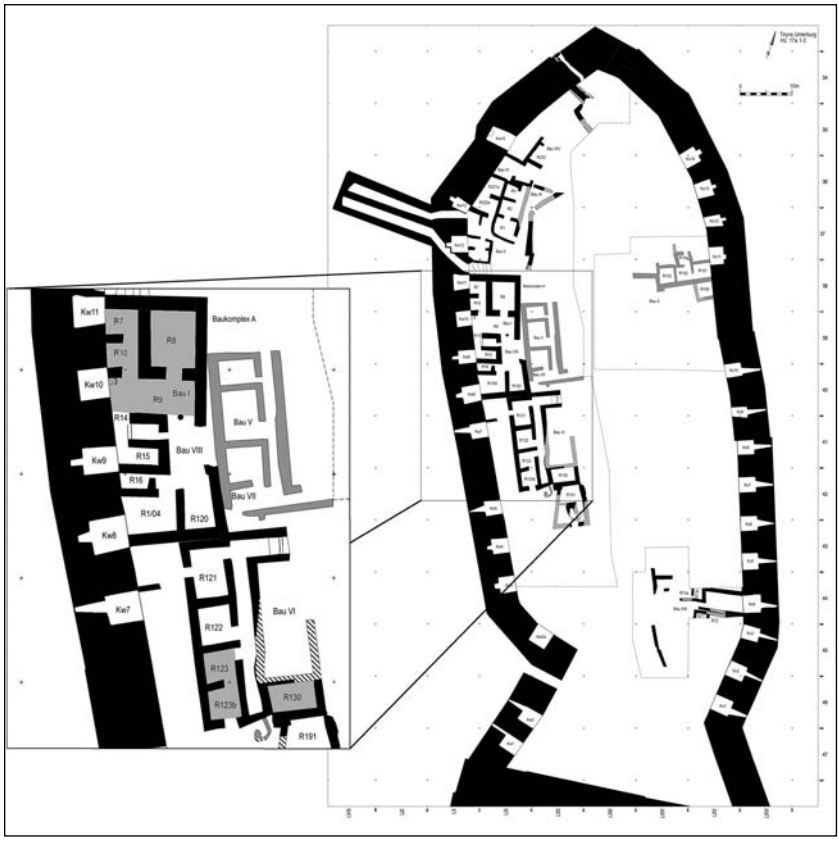


Figure 9. Tiryns, Lower Citadel, architectural phase LHIIIB Developed, pottery phase LHIIIB2 Late; marked with gray are rooms without HBW (modified after Damm-Meinhardt forthcoming).

(Fig. 9).[16] Quoting Kilian, the HBW is missing in "rooms of the upper class" and seems "to be concentrated on areas of storage and service, i.e., settlement spaces of more simple quality, during Palatial times" (Kilian 2007: 51; my translation).

This picture is confirmed and extended by the results of my dissertation on the pottery from the Northeastern Lower Town of Tiryns.

[16] Especially room 123 (cultic horns with stucco coating, hearth, platform); room 130 (hearth, platform, at least one conical rhyton); maybe also Linear B Linear tablets that were found in the corridor between the rooms, but which may be earlier than Building VI.

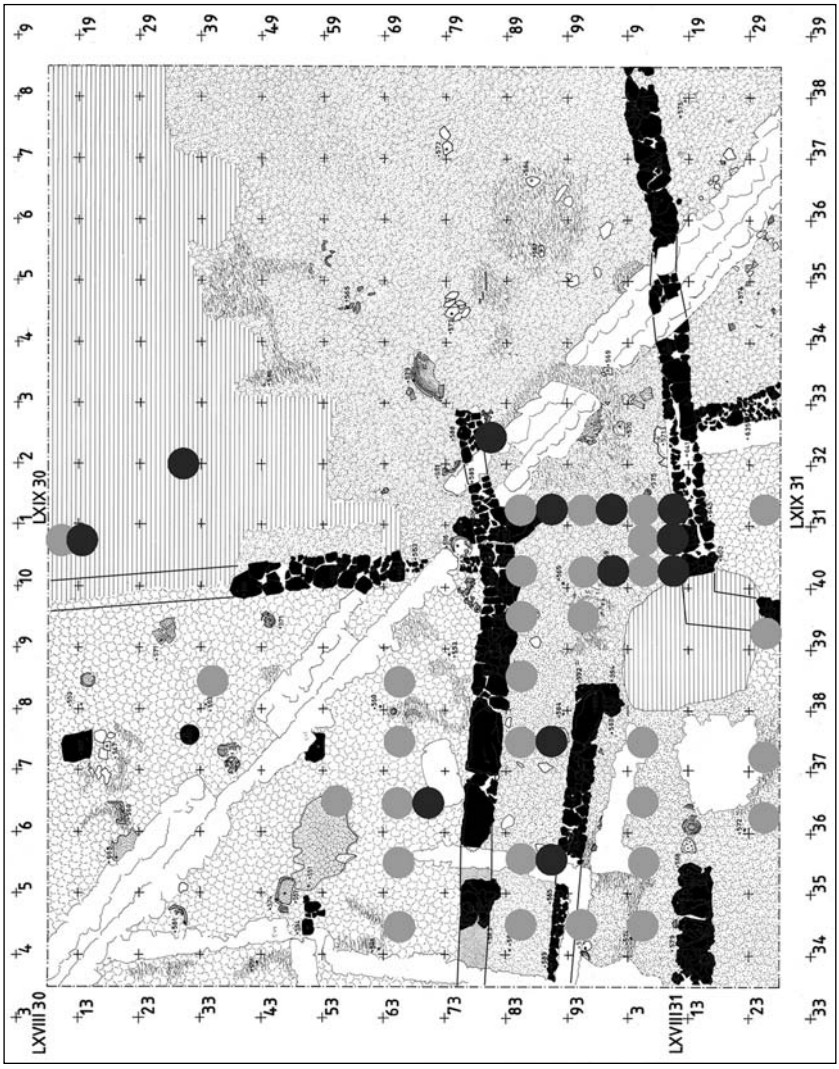


Figure 10. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, phase 1, LH III C Early 1/2: small squares with sherd count (light gray) and sherd weight (dark gray) in spit (*Abuhb*) XI and surface (*Oberfläche*) XII far above average of all excavated small squares.

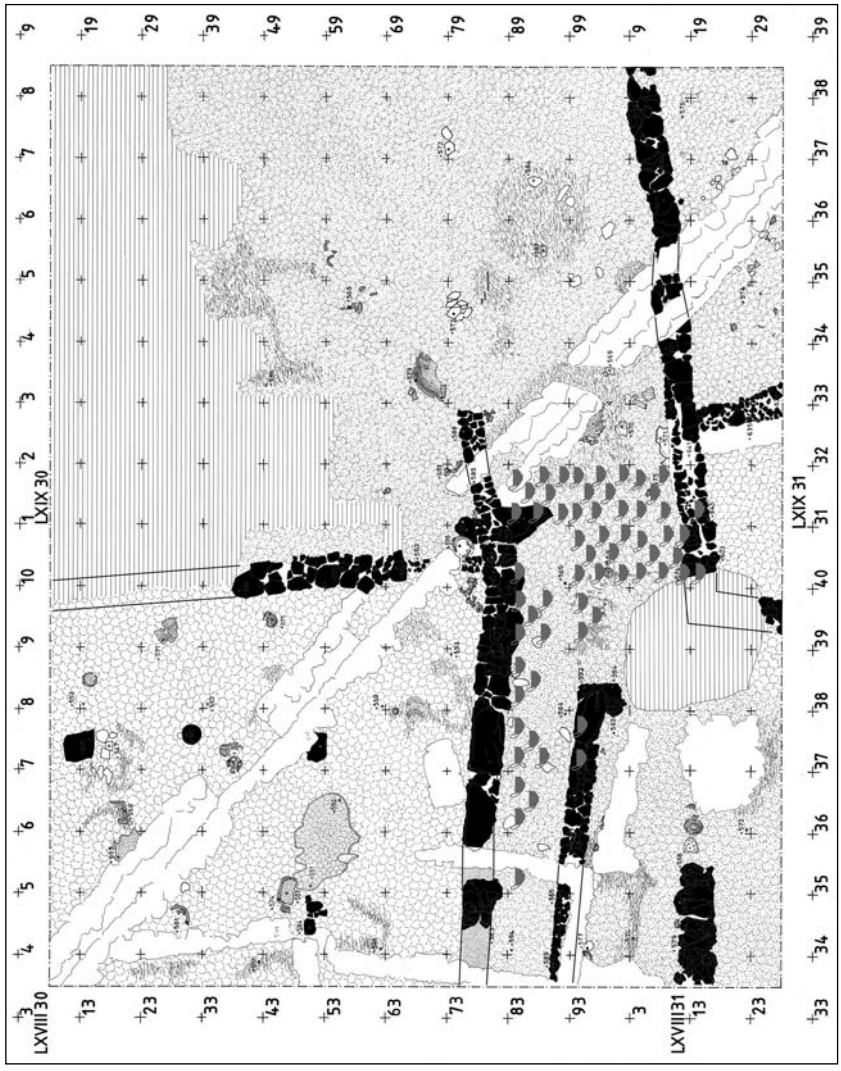


Figure 11. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 1, LHIIIC Early 1/2: spatial distribution of sherds of carinated cups (FS 240) (Stockhammer 2008: Fig. 85).

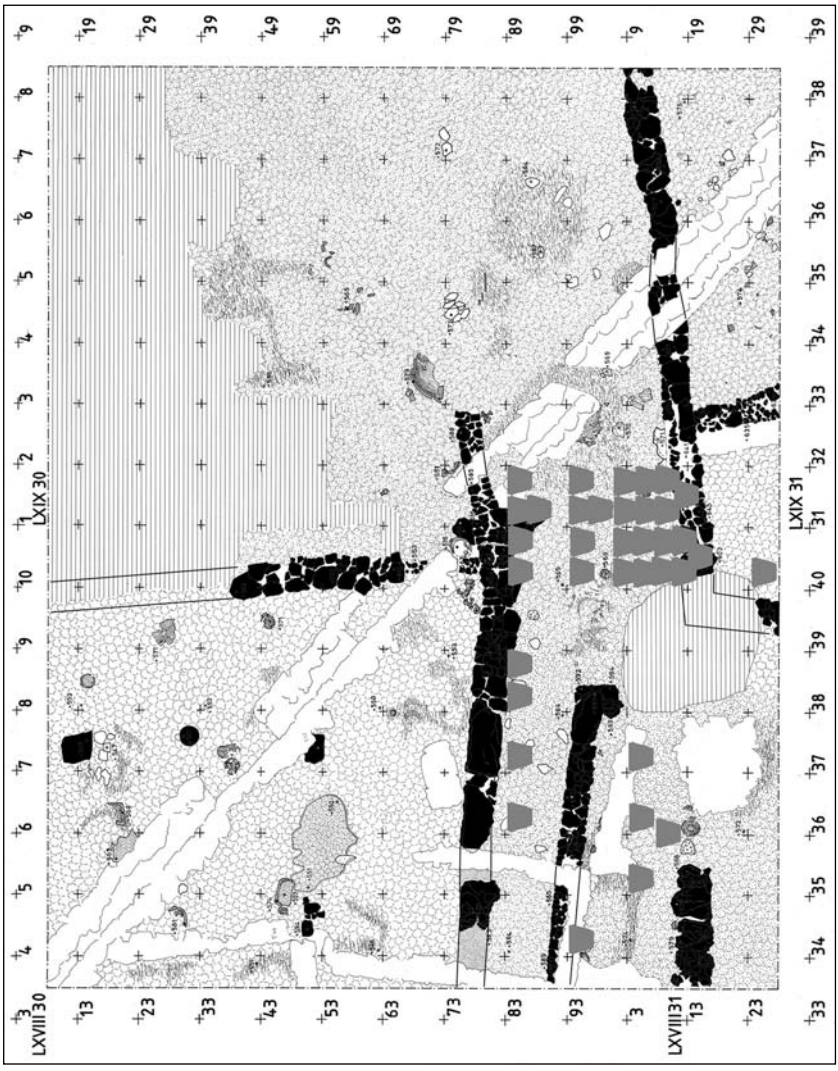


Figure 12. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, Phase 1, LHIIIC Early 1/2: spatial distribution of sherds of HBW vessels (Stockhammer 2008: Fig. 87).

At the beginning of the Post-Palatial period, Mycenaean potters began imitating the HBW vessel type of the carinated cup in Mycenaean painted fine ware, probably to enlarge their clientele to include the HBW consumers. They applied a monochrome paint to these cups to get a color impression similar to the dark-brown–black appearance of the immigrants' vessels. The spatial distribution of the Mycenaean carinated cups in the meaningful contexts in Tiryns in the early twelfth century BCE reveals a significant correlation with the immigrants' traditional pottery ware, showing that they were both probably only used by the migrants and their offspring. This can be demonstrated by the spatial concentration of both features in the settlement plan of Phase 1 of the Northeastern Lower Town of Tiryns: the concentration of all pottery with regard to sherd count and sherd weight clearly shows several huge concentrations of pottery (Fig. 10) that I would interpret as rubbish dumps. However, the deposition of the carinated cups (Fig. 11) and the HBW sherds (Fig. 12) is restricted to just one of the rubbish dumps. In my view, this rubbish dump can be connected with the hearth nearby (located in small squares LXVIII 31/5.6), for which construction HBW sherds were also used. The users of the HBW and the carinated cups discarded their rubbish only in one place, while other households seem to have used different rubbish dumps in which the HBW and carinated cups are missing.

During the second phase of settlement in the Northeastern Lower Town with the outstanding room 8/00, HBW and monochrome carinated cups are almost totally absent. In Phase 3 of the Northeastern Lower Town after the destruction of room 8/00, the share of HBW in the total amount of pottery strongly increases, from two sherds per cubic meter of excavated sediment in Phase 2 to 32 sherds per cubic meter in Phase 3 (cf. Stockhammer 2008: Figs. 68–71). Moreover, the spatial distribution of the HBW is also meaningful in Phase 3 (Fig. 13). The architecture of this phase consists of several rooms grouped around a huge courtyard. In the rooms to the south of this courtyard only Mycenaean cooking pottery was found, no HBW. Furthermore, these rooms stand out in their conspicuously good construction, especially in the use of huge ashlar blocks for the foundations. In one of the rooms to the north of the courtyard, a large number of HBW sherds were found, but hardly any Mycenaean cooking ware. This room was furnished with a hearth and two storage tubs and four other storage tubs were placed immediately outside this room, thus suggesting storage and cooking activities in the room and its vicinity. In Phase 3 of the



Figure 13. Tiryns, Northeastern Lower Town, layers of Phase 3 (marked with gray), LHIIIC Middle 1: spatial distribution of Mycenaean cooking ware and HBW. All small squares that are marked produced more than a single sherd of the relevant wares. The number of sherds per square unit is indicated by the number in the symbol (Stockhammer 2008: Fig. 98).

Northeastern Lower Town the inhabitants still seemed to be anxious to keep the HBW and probably also their users, i.e., the Italian migrants and their offspring, away from representational contexts. This does not necessarily mean that the users of the HBW were restricted in their freedom or were slaves. However, there is no doubt that the migrants' material culture and therefore perhaps also the migrants were not invited to or were unwanted in private and communal contexts. Thus, it is not surprising that HBW in the Northeastern Lower Town and on the Lower Citadel is concentrated in contexts of storage and hearths. This correlation of Italian immigrants and contexts of food preparation might point to a preference of the inhabitants of Tiryns for Italian cuisine, although pasta and tomatoes were still unknown.

Taking together the evidence from the palace of Pylos and the Lower Citadel and Lower City of Tiryns, one may conclude that every participant of a Mycenaean feasting community could easily recognize the status the participants had or would have liked to have had. The change in the Mycenaean feast from the Palatial to the Post-Palatial period and within the Post-Palatial period was closely connected with the change in the system of society and its ideological background.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY: A HOUSEHOLD COMPOUND FROM IRON II TELL EN-NAṢBEH

Aaron J. Brody

This treatment of household archaeology at Tell en-Naṣbeh initiates a broader program of research on Iron Age II residential compounds at the site. By studying ceramics and small finds in their original architectural contexts, I will investigate aspects of daily life in a fortified village at the household level. This provides a bottom-up view of Judean society that stands in contrast to the top-down view of royal or elite society typically represented in various texts of the Hebrew Bible during the period of the United and Divided Monarchies. This household approach also stands in contrast to most Iron Age II excavations in the region that have focused primarily on the archaeology of urban centers and other outposts of the central authorities, such as fortresses.[1]

Were the pillared houses at Naṣbeh the residencies of nuclear or extended families? The data presented allow me to define a particular five-building compound as the home of three nuclear families whose houses were physically linked. Shared or pooled resources of these three nuclear families, revealed through household archaeology, suggest that this compound housed one extended family.

Tell en-Naṣbeh, Its Iron II Households, and Methodology

Tell en-Naṣbeh is an eight-acre site located twelve kilometers northwest of Jerusalem. W. F. Badè of Pacific School of Religion directed excavations at the tell for five seasons between 1926 and 1935. Nearly two-thirds of the settlement was excavated, in addition to extramural tombs. The objects and project documentation analyzed and processed at Pacific School of Religion resulted in two final report volumes

[1] Notable exceptions are found in the research of A. Faust. For one example, see Faust 2000.

(McCown 1947; Wampler 1947). These reports, while exemplary for their day, are plagued by difficulties posed by the early understanding of stratigraphy and the lack of detailed contextual information. J. R. Zorn reanalyzed the stratigraphy of Naṣbeh based on the project's original notes, photographs, and architectural plans (1993a). He phased the site into five main strata: Stratum 5, Early Bronze I pits and tombs cut into the bedrock; Stratum 4, Iron I silos and cisterns cut into the bedrock; Stratum 3, an Iron IIA–IIC fortified village; Stratum 2, Babylonian/early Persian period pillared houses; and Stratum 1, Hellenistic/Roman period scattered remains (Zorn 1993a, 1993b).

Zorn's detailed stratigraphic research provides the architectural phasing necessary to frame household archaeology at the site. The expedition's original object notes, or millimeter cards, record ceramics, small finds, and even some ecofacts by context (Badè 1934: 34–38, 40–41). These notes allow for the study of archaeological deposits in individual rooms and features, whose contemporaneity can be verified using Zorn's phasing.[2] This process is impossible to duplicate using the data presented in the two final reports (McCown 1947; Wampler 1947).

There are well-understood hesitations in using materials excavated in the 1920–30s, the infancy of archaeology in this region. The understanding of stratigraphy was basic, and a locus was primarily defined as an architectural unit (room) with little consideration for layers within this unit, let alone probable pits (see Zorn 1993a). The excavation was conducted at a rapid pace with relatively little recording occurring beyond architectural features and corresponding finds, as is excellently portrayed in Badè's excavation manual, a revolutionary study for its time, when field methods were hardly discussed (1934). In many ways this current study will test the feasibility of conducting contextual analysis on the Naṣbeh materials using the original excavation records, with the caveat that both excavation and documentation practices and standards were very different from what they are today.

Naṣbeh's Stratum 3 is a very wide exposure, a rarity these days, which allows for a broad understanding of lifeways in multiple household compounds as well as for comparisons between numerous contemporaneous households at the site in the Iron II period. This is in

[2] The object notes, or millimeter cards, are housed at the Badè Museum at Pacific School of Religion. These records are now databased and will be available on the Internet through Open Context, http://opencontext.org.

contrast to the recent analysis of one pillared house at Tell Halif, which has added critical detailed information to the understanding of the household in ancient Israel (Hardin 2001, 2004). However, synthetic reconstructions based on a single example, no matter how refined, are tenuous. Thus, the opportunity for a macrolevel approach to household archaeology at Naṣbeh, using the original objects' notes framed by discreet architectural units, is promising and eventually should be conducted site wide.

The household was the basic social, economic, religious, and judicial unit in the ancient Near East (Wright 1992: 763–764; Blenkinsopp 1997; Meyers 1997; McNutt 1999; Schloen 2001). Therefore, in-depth archaeological research on common houses is fundamental for understanding aspects of society, economy, religion, and justice in its broader Near Eastern context. Very few field projects in the southern Levant or synthetic studies have focused on the methods and theories of household archaeology (notable exceptions include Stager 1984; Daviau 1993; Lederman 1999: 120–138; Ilan 2001; Schloen 2001; Hardin 2001, 2004; Meyers 2003d; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006). Several recent studies have reconstructed the social structure of ancient Israelite households based primarily on architectural analysis (Faust 2000; Schloen 2001: 175–180).

By analyzing artifacts within their architectural frameworks, we can interpret room use and function, household activity areas, and the division of gendered space more precisely than if we relied solely on analysis of architecture for social-spatial reconstructions (for recent studies in household archaeology, see Bermann 1994; Allison 1999b; Nevett 1999; Barile and Brandon 2004). This household archaeology methodology, aided by interpretive insights from ethnoarchaeology and ethnohistory (Watson 1979; Kramer 1979, 1982a; Stone 1981; Stager 1984; A'amiry 1987; Horne 1994; Kamp 2000), allows for a more refined reconstruction of ancient family, household, and social structures.

The Household Compound and Its Architecture

Stratum 3 Naṣbeh contains thirty-two three- and three+-room houses and ten four- and four+-room houses (Zorn 1993a: 119–121). One compound of five attached houses was chosen for this pilot study, for several reasons. This compound is often chosen to illustrate the

three-room house type (Stager 1984: Fig. 9g; Holladay 1992: Fig. HOU.01.B); three-room houses are the most common household type in Stratum 3 at Naṣbeh (Zorn 1993a: 137–138), and there is very little evidence of later construction on top of, or disturbance of, this household compound.[3]

The compound is in the southwest of the site, and is made up of a two-room structure in the northwest, three standard three-room houses, and an atypical three-room house in the southeast (Fig. 1).[4] The five buildings are attached by common walls, and are surrounded by streets to the north, west, and south, and an unexcavated "rubble heap" on the east. This compound is made up of sixteen rooms, one bin, and two cisterns.

The two-room structure has a broad room in back, Room 609, and a large room in front, Room 607, which is typically interpreted as a courtyard (Zorn 1993a: 649).[5] This building shares its southern wall with a three-room house with a broad room at its rear, Room 610, and two long rooms separated by pillars, Rooms 608 and 588. A small room, Room 606, is divided off of the front of Room 608. A small rectangular feature, Bin 355, is in Room 588, covering the entrance to Cistern 359 (Zorn 1993a: 652–653). This house shares its southernmost wall with another three-room house, with its broad Room 612 at the rear and two long rooms divided by pillars, Rooms 584 and 580. This building's southern wall is shared with the next three-room house with its broad Room 579 in back. Its northern long room is separated into a small Room 577 in front and larger Room 578 in back; the second long room, Room 576, is over Cistern 354. The fifth building is an atypical three-room house made up of three broad rooms: Room 575, separated by pillars from Room 581, and Room 513.

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[3] Four "Roman ribbed ware" sherds were registered in the compound: two in Room 609, one in Bin 355, and one in Room 575. These are clearly intrusive, and may have washed into the area from a higher spot on the tell or introduced by modern plowing or animal activity.

[4] Zorn numbers the five buildings 142.02, 142.03, 159.04, 159.05, and 159.06 from north to south. For the architectural and stratigraphic details, see Zorn 1993a: 649–653, 736–741.

[5] Zorn views most individual three- and four-room houses as each containing its own courtyard (1993a: 142), an interpretation followed by Schloen (2001: 175–180). I will suggest, based on artifact analysis, that the courtyards for this compound were located only in the two outermost buildings and are not found in the three central three-room houses.

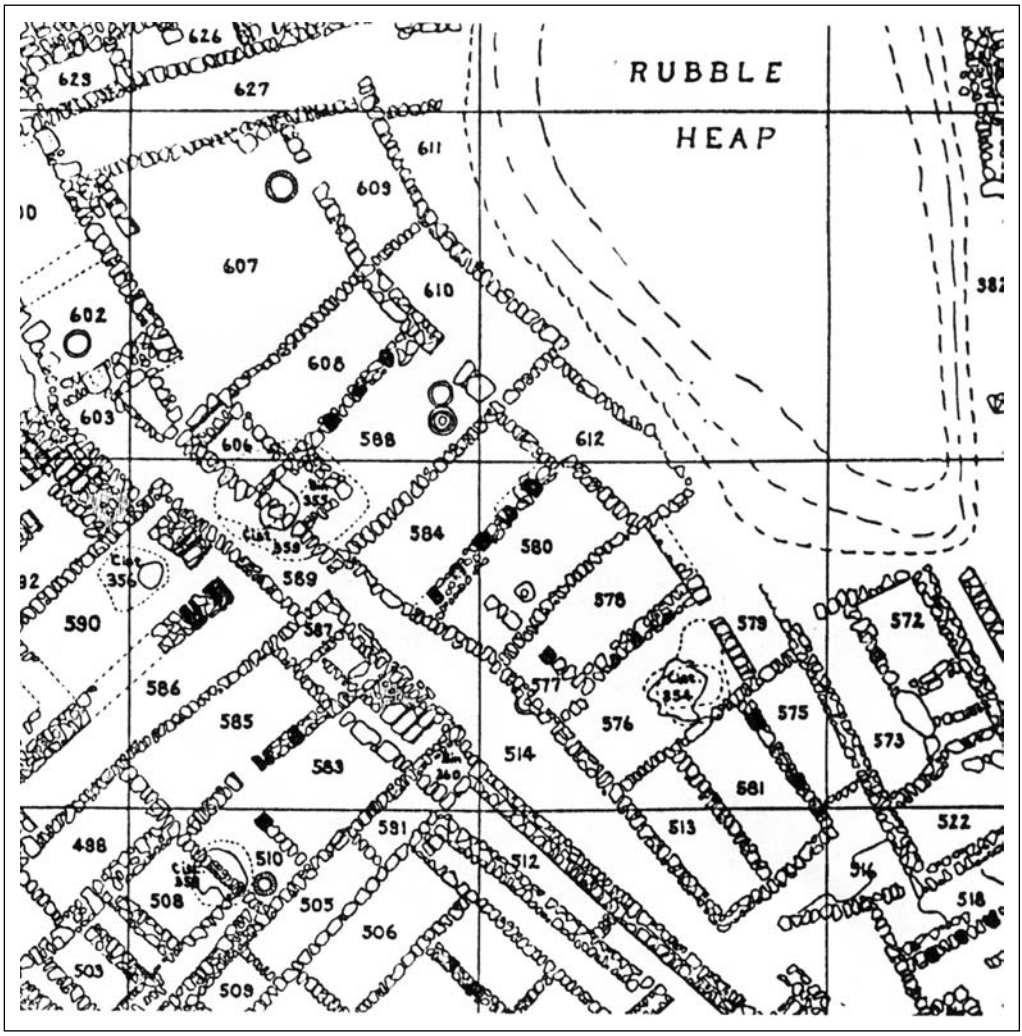


Figure 1. Iron II household compound at Tell en-Naṣbeh; scale: each square is 10 m^2 (courtesy of the Badè Museum, Pacific School of Religion).

Almost every wall in this compound is made of one row of single stones, 31–47 cm wide (Fig. 1). Walls built on single-course stone foundations are a typical construction feature of Stratum 3; the widths of these walls average 43 cm and usually range between 36 and 50 cm (Zorn 1993a: 123). Later phases in Stratum 3 have rebuilt walls with two rows of stones, with widths averaging 71 cm and ranging from 54 to 88 cm (ibid.). C. Kramer has researched traditional village houses

in Iran, built using similar techniques to the Iron II houses at Naṣbeh, and discovered that walls around 1 m in thickness are required on the ground level to support the additional weight and structural concerns of a second story structure (Kramer 1982b: 99). Thus, it seems unlikely that any of the buildings of our compound at Naṣbeh had a second-story room (contra Schloen 2001: 176–180).

Artifacts from the Compound

Four-hundred and thirteen artifacts were registered and recorded on object cards in the sixteen rooms and one bin in the compound. Room 606 cannot be included, as none of its object cards are preserved in the Badè Museum's holdings. Finds from the two cisterns are not included in this study. Three loci, Rooms 607, 608, and 588, have a "sublevel" that I have coded separately from the "level I" finds from the same room. These sublevels may have been subfloor fill, floor buildups, or surfaces with collapsed ceiling material above. Unfortunately, no interpretations were recorded in publications or in the field notes.[6] Not all 413 artifacts were tabulated (see Table 1); for ceramics, handles and bases were generally not included, since one is never sure if a rim, handle, and base in a given category were from the same vessel or three different vessels of the same type. However, handles or bases were coded if they were the only example in a category or if they were from a different vessel type than those represented by rims in a given category. Four late sherds, described here in note 3, were considered intrusive and therefore were not coded. Small finds represent a range of artifact and ecofact types and are categorized separately from ceramics in Table 1.

Ceramic terminology was updated; for instance, "zirs" were categorized as pithoi, "plates" as bowls, and "pitchers" as jugs (see Wampler 1947). Pottery drawings were checked alongside their typological designations, and some pieces were reassigned as a different vessel

[6] Badè notes: "At Tell en-Naṣbeh the remains of charred timbers were occasionally found under masses of roof clay, usually made of soft limestone, pounded into fine particles and mixed with water" (1934: 61). The locations of these collapsed roofs are not detailed in his excavation manual, and Badè passed away the year after the end of the field project. The analysis and authorship of the final report fell to Badè's New Testament colleague at Pacific School of Religion, C. C. McCown (1947).

type. In general, however, Wampler's analysis was outstanding and has stood the test of time. Ten ceramic categories were represented by the pottery from the compound: bowls, chalices, kraters, cooking pots, pithoi, jars, jugs, juglets, pilgrim flasks, and lamps (see Table 1) (Amiran 1969: 15).[7]

Ceramics

Most of the ceramic types can be divided into three groups based on interpretation of vessel function: cooking, consumption/serving, and storage (Lederman 1999: 126; Hardin 2001: 133–138; King and Stager 2001: 64–67, 142–146). The cooking group is made up of cooking pots;[8] the consumption/serving group, of bowls, kraters, jugs, pilgrim flasks, and dipper juglets; and the storage group, of pithoi, container juglets, and jars, including storage jars, conical jars, and holemouth jars.[9] I have not coded chalices, since they may have been used for drinking liquids, offering libations, burning incense, or all three functions; regardless, their numbers are statistically insignificant. Lamps do not fit any of the functional groups and will be treated separately.

Since the absolute number of ceramic vessels in the three groups differs by room, the percentage of pottery in each group out of the total number of vessels in a given room must be compared. The figures are found in Table 2, and are schematized visually in Fig. 2.[10]

The highest percentage of cooking vessels is 40% in Room 588 sublevel I. This may be a bit misrepresentative, as there are only five vessels in the three groups, two of which are cooking pots. The next highest percentages are 27.27% in Room 581, 18.75% in Room 608 level I, 18.18% in Room 588 level I, and 18.18% in Bin 355. Rooms 608 and 588 and Bin 355 are all in the same three-room house, and it is unlikely that all three loci were used as kitchens. Bin 355 is probably too small a space to have been a kitchen, and no ovens or hearths

[7] Three of Amiran's ceramic categories, goblets, amphoriskoi, and pyxides, were not found in the compound.

[8] Cooking jugs and griddles were not found in this compound, though they are present in contemporaneous contexts at Naṣbeh.

[9] For the division of juglets into two groups, see Hunt 1987: 203–204.

[10] Room 579 has been left out of Fig. 2, since it had only three vessels, one from each functional group. Room 579 was only partially excavated (Zorn 1993a: 739), perhaps because the presence of the nearby "rubble heap" made its excavation difficult (see Fig. 1).

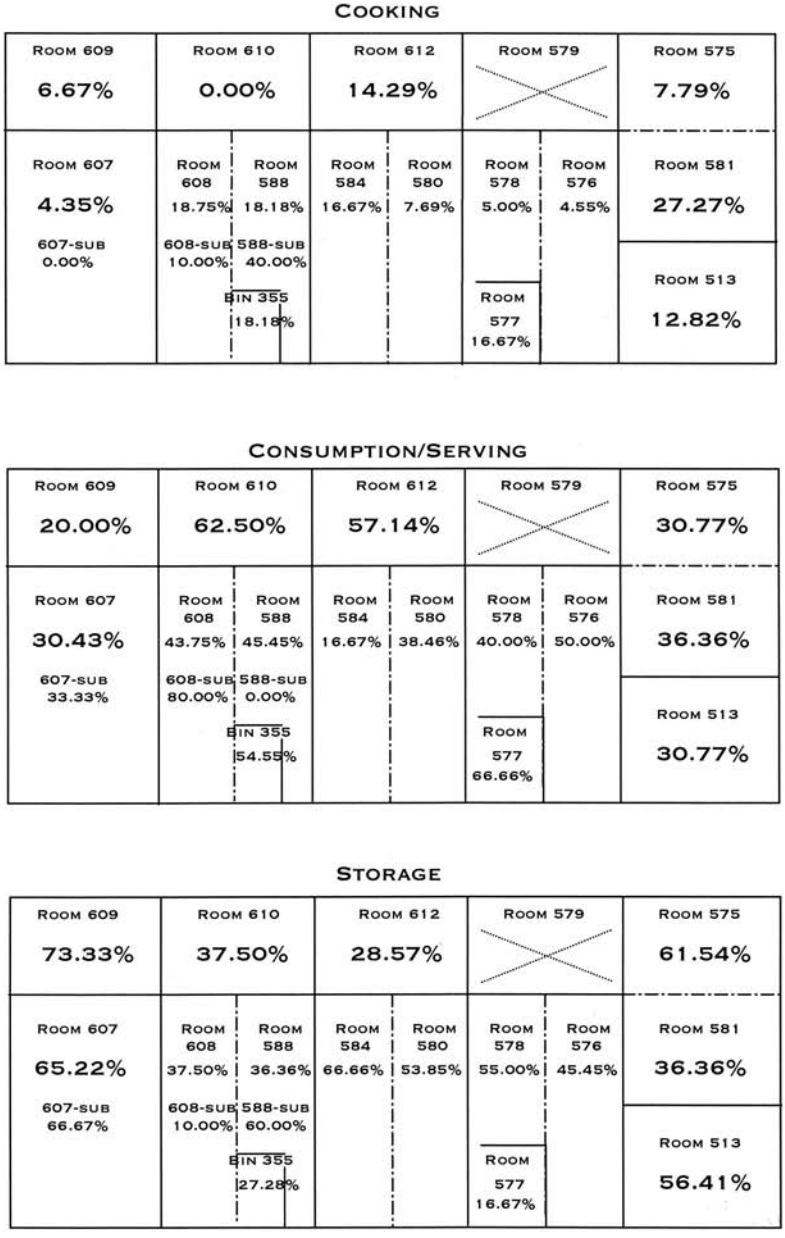


Figure 2. Schematic of rooms with percentage of ceramics in vessel group.

Table 1. Ceramics and small finds from rooms in Nasbeh residential compound

Room 609: level I

bowl	1
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	4
jar	7
jug	1
juglet	1
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	Ceramic funnel; bronze fragment; iron rod; dark brown bead; limestone spindle whorl

Room 607: level I

bowl	6
chalice	1
krater	1
cooking pot	1
pithos	3
jar	10
jug	—
juglet	2
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	2
small finds	Basalt spindle whorl; 2 flint sling-stones; basalt grinding stone frag.; iron arrowhead; stone basin (on plan)

Room 607: sub-level I

bowl	1
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	—
pithos	1
jar	2
jug	—
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	—

Room 610: level I

bowl	4
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	—
pithos	1
jar	2
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	2
small finds	Ceramic ring stand; iron knife frag.; limestone grinding stone; pillar figurine frag.

Room 608: level I

bowl	6
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	3
pithos	1
jar	5
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Iron arrow head; iron rod; ceramic button base frag.

Room 608: sub-level I

bowl	5
chalice	1
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	—
jar	1
jug	2
juglet	1
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	2
small finds	Pillar figurine frag.

Room 588: level I

bowl	3
chalice	—
krater	1
cooking pot	2
pithos	2
jar	2
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Bone spatula frag.; zoomorphic vessel frag.; flint sling-stone frag.; fossil shell; bronze needle; 2 iron "nails'; stone basin (on plan); olive press basin (on plan)

Room 588: sub-level I

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	2
pithos	—
jar	—
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	—

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Bin 355: level i

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	2
pithos	2
jar	4
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Clay basin frag.; animal bone

Room 612: level i

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	1
jar	1
jug	—
juglet	2
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	—

Room 584: level i

bowl	—
chalice	1
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	1
jar	3
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	Animal figurine torso

Room 580: level i

bowl	4
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	2
jar	5
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Iron punch; stone basin (on plan)

Room 579: level i

bowl	—
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	—
jar	1
jug	1
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	—
small finds	Round basalt frag.; 2 bronze earrings

Room 578: level i

bowl	5
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	1
jar	8
jug	1
juglet	3
pilgrim flask	1
lamp	1
small finds	Ceramic funnel; carnelian bead; iron arrowhead; horse & rider figurine; mollusk shell pendant

Room 577: level i

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	—
jar	1
jug	2
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Basalt pestle frag.; flint sling-stone; mollusk shell; basalt spindle whorl

Room 576: level i

bowl	9
chalice	1
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	1
jar	8
jug	—
juglet	3
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	2
small finds	Limestone cosmetic bowl; flint sickle blade; fenestrated stand frag.; basalt smoothing stone; whetstone; flint hammerstone; animal tusk sawn in half; ceramic jar stopper

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Room 575: level i

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	1
pithos	4
jar	4
jug	—
juglet	1
pilgrim flask	1
lamp	1
small finds	Ceramic basin frag.?; basalt rubbing stone

Room 581: level i

bowl	2
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	3
pithos	2
jar	2
jug	2
juglet	—
pilgrim flask	—
lamp	1
small finds	Ceramic basin frag.; bone pendant; black stone bead; bone spatula; iron arrowhead; bronze frag.; bronze earring; flint smoothing stone; flint burnishing stone; basalt pestle; animal horn

Room 513: level i

bowl	7
chalice	—
krater	—
cooking pot	5
pithos	5
jar	16
jug	1
juglet	3
pilgrim flask	2
lamp	2
small finds	Phoenician jug; iron nail; stone bead; leg of bowl/figurine?; 2 pillar figurine base; ceramic 'face' from decorated vessel; animal figurine leg; stone sockle; basalt mortar leg; 2 flint sling-stones; 1 limestone sling-stone; animal mandible; horse & rider frag.; pillar figurine torso; animal bone; 2 animal teeth; 2 boar's tusks

Table 2. Breakdown of ceramics by functional categories

Functional category	Number of examples/ total number in functional categories:	Percentage among ceramics in functional categories:
Room 609: level 1		
Cooking	1/15	6.67%
Consumption/serving	3/15	20.00%
Storage	11/15	73.33%
Room 607: level 1		
Cooking	1/23	4.35%
Consumption/serving	7/23	30.43%
Storage	15/23	65.22%
Room 607: sub-level 1		
Cooking	—	—
Consumption/serving	2/6	33.33%
Storage	4/6	66.67%
Room 610: level 1		
Cooking	—	—
Consumption/serving	5/8	62.50%
Storage	3/8	37.50%
Room 608: level 1		
Cooking	3/16	18.75%
Consumption/serving	7/16	43.75%
Storage	6/16	37.50%
Room 608: sub-level 1		
Cooking	1/10	10.00%
Consumption/serving	8/10	80.00%
Storage	1/10	10.00%
Room 588: level 1		
Cooking	2/11	18.18%
Consumption/serving	5/11	45.45%
Storage	4/11	36.36%
Room 588: sub-level 1		
Cooking	2/5	6.67%
Consumption/serving	—	20.00%
Storage	3/5	73.33%
Bin 355: level 1		
Cooking	2/11	18.18%
Consumption/serving	6/11	54.55%
Storage	3/11	27.28%

Functional category	Number of examples/ total number in functional categories:	Percentage among ceramics in functional categories:
Room 612: level 1		
Cooking	1/7	14.29%
Consumption/serving	4/7	57.14%
Storage	2/7	28.57%
Room 584: level 1		
Cooking	1/6	16.67%
Consumption/serving	1/6	16.67%
Storage	4/6	66.66%
Room 580: level 1		
Cooking	1/13	7.69%
Consumption/serving	5/13	38.46%
Storage	7/13	53.85%
Room 579: level 1		
Cooking	1/3	33.33%
Consumption/serving	1/3	33.33%
Storage	1/3	33.33%
Room 578: level 1		
Cooking	1/20	5.00%
Consumption/serving	8/20	40.00%
Storage	11/20	55.00%
Room 577: level 1		
Cooking	1/6	16.67%
Consumption/serving	4/6	66.66%
Storage	1/6	16.67%
Room 576: level 1		
Cooking	1/22	4.55%
Consumption/serving	11/22	50.00%
Storage	10/22	45.45%
Room 575: level 1		
Cooking	1/13	7.69%
Consumption/serving	4/13	30.77%
Storage	8/13	61.54%
Room 581: level 1		
Cooking	3/11	27.27%
Consumption/serving	4/11	36.36%
Storage	4/11	36.36%
Room 513: level 1		
Cooking	5/39	12.82%
Consumption/serving	12/39	30.77%
Storage	22/39	56.41%

were recorded in the compound (Zorn 1993a: Table B.3.1). Cooking pots make up 16.67% of the vessels in Rooms 584 and 577, 14.29% in Room 612, and 12.82% in Room 513. The remaining rooms and one sublevel have fewer than 10% cooking vessels. Room 607, which has consistently been interpreted as a courtyard, has only 1/23, or 4.35%, cooking vessels in level I, and none in its sublevel.

Ethnoarchaeological studies in Middle Eastern villages demonstrate that cooking is done in outdoor courtyards during the hottest months (Kramer 1979: 156; Hardin 2004: 75). This supports the interpretation of Room 581, at the opposite end of the building compound, as a courtyard used as a kitchen. The large percentage of cooking pots supports this function.[11] In the northern wall of Room 581 is an entrance into Room 576 (Fig. 1), close to the opening for Cistern 354; this cistern would have provided easy access from Room 581 to water. Readily available fresh water supports the idea that Room 581 was used as a kitchen, since water is vital for cooking and cleaning.

The next highest concentration of cooking vessels is in Rooms 608 and 588 and Bin 355, in the northernmost three-room house. This concentration may indicate a kitchen used seasonally, perhaps in the winter. Room 608 is the most likely kitchen, since Room 588 was used in the manufacture of olive oil (Zorn 1993a: 146), and Bin 355 seems too cramped to serve as a kitchen. Rooms 584 and 577 may have been used as seasonal kitchens, although 577 is small. Thus, I would suggest that Rooms 608 and 581 were kitchens, perhaps used in winter and in summer respectively.

The patterning of consumption/serving vessels proved interesting. Ceramics in this group are associated with the living space in a household, where the nuclear family shared meals, slept, and entertained (Kramer 1982b: 102; Hardin 2001: 226–227). In two of the broad Rooms, 610 and 612; two of the smallest spaces, Room 577 and Bin 355; and the sublevel of the long room, Room 608, over 50% of the ceramics belongs to the consumption/serving group. The presence of 80% consumption/serving ceramics in the lower level in Room 608 may indicate a shift in function from a living room to a kitchen, as marked by the vessels of level I, discussed above. Room 577 and Bin 355 are unlikely living spaces based on their diminutive sizes. Thus,

[11] Zorn interprets Room 581 as a courtyard, based on architectural analysis (1993a: 740).

broad rooms Rooms 610 and 612 stand out as the living areas in two of the three-room houses. Based on analogy, it is likely that Room 579, the broad room of the third three-room house, was also a living room. Room 579 was only partially excavated and, unfortunately, its three ceramic finds were too few to indicate room function. Note that the outermost two-room and atypical three-room buildings yielded relatively low percentages of pottery in the consumption/serving group. This suggests that there were no living rooms in these structures.

Ceramics in the storage group are present in high percentages throughout the compound. In six rooms, 609, 607, 584, 578, 575, and 513, storage vessels make up 55–73.33% of the pottery. Four of these rooms are in the two outermost buildings of the compound, indicating their primary use as storage facilities. The other two rooms are long rooms Rooms 584 and 578 in the central and southern three-room houses. Ceramics from the other long rooms of these houses, Rooms 580 and 576, also comprise high percentages of storage vessels—53.85% and 45.45% respectively. The sublevel of Room 588 has 60% storage-vessel types; however, we noted above that this may have been used as a kitchen, a room function that may require a fair amount of storage.

Lamps

The distribution of lamps may be an indicator of roofed space (Hardin 2001: 250). Lamps were absent from only four loci, Rooms 609, 612, 584, and 579. One or two examples are found in each of the remaining rooms and bin. Lamps are present in Rooms 607 and 581, which were interpreted above as open courtyards. The presence of lamps in courtyards may suggest the use of outdoor space after sunset.

Small Finds

Small finds are divided into five categories: tools, weaving and sewing implements, personal adornment, weapons, and cultic items. Tools include ground stone tools, lithics, metal objects, and ceramic funnels and basins. The weaving and sewing category comprises spindle whorls, bone spatulas, and a bronze needle. Personal adornment is represented by stone beads, several bronze earrings, and two pendants, one of bone and the other of shell. Weapons found in the remains of the buildings include iron arrowheads and slingstones. Cultic items

are represented by animal, horse and rider, and female pillar figurines, a fenestrated stand, a fragment of a zoomorphic vessel, and a "face" from a decorated vessel.

Since small finds were limited in quantity, I treated them simply by their presence or absence. The highest number of tools—five—is concentrated in Room 576. The discovery of a sawn animal tusk along with these five tools in the room suggests its use as a workshop.[12] My earlier suggestion that Room 581 served as a kitchen is supported by the presence of a basalt pestle and a ceramic basin, which may have been used for milling grain (Amiry and Tamari 1989: 19). The remaining tools were found fairly evenly distributed, one or two to a room, across the compound. Only three rooms, 608, 612, and 584, lacked any finds of tools.

A limited number of weaving and sewing implements was found in the compound. Only Room 588 had more than one: a bone spatula and a bronze needle in its sublevel. Of two olive oil press vats found *in situ* in Stratum 3 (Zorn 1993a: 146), one was found in Room 588. Based on the small finds, it may be suggested that this space was used seasonally for weaving and or sewing, when not used for pressing olives. Rooms 609, 607, and 577 contained one stone whorl each, and one bone spatula was found in Room 581.

Artifacts of personal adornment are rare and clustered in the compound's two southernmost buildings. The largest concentration, a bead, a bone pendant, and an earring, was found in Room 581. This space has been interpreted above as a courtyard and outdoor kitchen. Kitchens are rooms typically associated with women's productive tasks (Meyers 1997: 24–26); therefore, it is possible that this jewelry belonged to women of the household. A pair of bronze earrings was found in Room 579, a shell pendant and a bead in Room 578, and a single bead in Room 513, which may have been part of a group of cultic items (see Willett 1999) detailed below. One bead was uncovered outside these two buildings, in Room 609, the northernmost room in the complex.

Weapons were found fairly evenly distributed and may relate to the destruction of the compound.[13] Three slingstones were uncovered in

[12] I count the "cosmetic" palette in Room 576 as a tool, since it functioned as a small mortar. Even in its broken state it could have been reused for grinding small quantities of a wide range of products.

[13] Zorn states that Stratum 3 came to a "non-violent end," which is contradicted by the presence of weapons in the remains of this compound (1993a: 143). These finds

Room 513 and two slingstones and an iron arrowhead were found in the courtyard Room 607. Remaining slingstones and iron arrowheads are found individually in Rooms 608, 588, 578, 577, and 581.

Cultic items are found clustered only in Room 513. Otherwise they are found individually in Rooms 610, 608 sublevel, 588, 584, 578, and 576, in each of the three three-room houses. Room 513's ceramics suggest its use for storage; its two pillar figurine bases, one pillar figurine torso, animal figurine leg, horse and rider fragment, and sculpted face from a ceramic vessel are interpreted as finds from a shrine. The Phoenician trefoil-mouth jug in Room 513—the only one from Naṣbeh and the only imported ceramic in the compound—was likely used together with these cultic finds (Brody forthcoming). The bead found in the room may have been an offering, and the two boar tusks may have had a sacred function as well.

Discussion

Ethnoarchaeology in Middle Eastern villages has shown that room functions can change over time (Watson 1979; Kramer 1979: 157; 1982b: 96–97; Horne 1994: 177–183; Kamp 2000: 91). Architectural "recycling" takes place as the household grows and changes, and its needs shift (for historic and archaeological correlates, see Stone 1981). These studies also demonstrate that rooms are typically multifunctional, and their functions may vary by season.

These factors make the archaeological reconstruction of room functions that much more difficult. This difficulty is compounded by various factors: the length of time a structure is occupied, the season in which it is destroyed or abandoned, and possible effects from later settlement at the site, erosion, animal activity, modern plowing, and stone robbing. These issues may be mitigated through careful excavation and sampling, especially with the utilization of microarchaeology (Hardin 2001: 125–127; 2004: 74–79). For older excavations we must use a much broader macroarchaeological approach dictated by the original excavation methods, collection strategies, and records.

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can be viewed as defensive weaponry; however, one might expect a more distinct clustering if these were objects stored in the compound for use against an enemy.

Fortunately, the finds from the excavations at Tell en-Naṣbeh were recorded separately by room and feature, and even by level. These data, combined with Zorn's architectural phasing, allow for interpretation of room use and function based on contextual analysis of ceramics and small finds.

One compound of five connected structures was chosen to test the viability of household archaeology at Naṣbeh. The ceramics suggest that cooking took place primarily in Rooms 581 and 608, which were interpreted as summer and winter kitchens, respectively. Room 584 may have been used as a kitchen, or it was a seasonal kitchen that was reused as a storeroom.

Living rooms, interpreted as such based on their high percentage of ceramics used for consumption and serving, are found in Rooms 610 and 612, the broad rooms of two of the three-room houses. Presumably, broad Room 579 was also a living room; unfortunately, it was only partially excavated and its ceramics were too few to code.

Storage rooms are concentrated in the two buildings that flank the three three-room houses. These include broad Room 609 and its accompanying courtyard, Room 607. The use of courtyards for storage is quite common in modern villages, as is their use for stabling animals. A large stone basin found in courtyard Room 607 suggests its use as a stable, as this basin may have served as a watering trough (Fig. 1). Long Room 580 may have served as a stable, as its pottery is not weighted heavily to any of the three functional groups (Stager 1985a: 12–15; Holladay 1992: 310–312). Rooms 575 and 513 in the southernmost building are storerooms; the concentration of cultic finds in Room 513 demonstrates that it also contained a household shrine. Long Rooms 584 and 578 from two of the three-room houses were also used for storage. It is probable that Room 577 and Bin 355 were used for storage, as their small size would make them too cramped for other types of activities.

The concentration of tools in long Room 576 suggests a workshop. Room 588 contains one of the only two olive-pressing vats found in Stratum 3 at the site. Due to this scarcity, it is likely that olive oil processed in the room served not only the needs of the household, but also neighboring kinsfolk and a larger section of the town (A'amiry 1987: 127–128). A bone spatula and a bronze needle found in Room 588 suggest that the space was used in cloth production, likely outside the olive season.

Based on the data presented and ethnographic parallels, I suggest that a nuclear family lived in each broad room of the three three-room houses in the compound (A'amiry 1987: 145–146; Kamp 2000: 85). The communal aspect of room use is seen in the fact that the pattern of domestic space function is not fully replicated in the five individual building units, let alone the three three-room houses. Each three-room house has its living space in the rear broad room; however, the long rooms show a variety of patterns of use. The outermost two-room and atypical three-room buildings were primarily courtyard and storage spaces, while the one shrine in the compound is in a side room, Room 513. The shared walls of these houses and communal functions of attributed storage rooms, kitchens, workshops, and courtyards, suggest that the compound was the residence of one extended family. This extended family, a minimal *beit ʾav*, was made up of three nuclear families and their dependants, linked both physically and by the bonds of kinship.

This conclusion supports Stager's and Schloen's views that both rural and urban household compounds were the abode of extended families (Stager 1985a: 18–22; Schloen 2001: 167–168). The evidence contradicts aspects of Faust's view that Iron II pillared houses in urban settlements, including Naṣbeh, were the abode of nuclear families (2000: 19–22). I have presented evidence that shows that nuclear families had their own living space in the broad room of each three-room house, but shared resources in the other rooms of the compound. The sharing of resources is an important trait of the extended family.

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES IN THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

Avraham Faust

Households have become a major topic of interest in the archaeological literature. However, despite the large archaeological database available from ancient Israel, households have received relatively limited attention in the archaeological research of this region (for exceptions, see, for example, Singer-Avitz 1996; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006). Scholarship has tended to concentrate on more "interesting" topics, mainly those relevant for the study of political, biblical history; daily life has received less attention. Households, however, are the backbone of practically every society, and the ancient societies of the Near East are no exceptions. Without proper attention to this basic level of social analysis, no large-scale study of ancient societies is feasible.

The study of houses and households has many dimensions (e.g., Wilk and Rathje 1982; Deetz 1982; Blanton 1994; Hendon 1996; Nevett 1999; Souvatzi 2008). Many studies concentrate on the single structure, by either trying to identify the use of space within the building through an analysis of the artifacts uncovered or by discerning various architectural patterns (e.g., Hendon 1996; Singer-Avitz 1996; Hardin 2004; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006; see also various papers in Kent 1990c; Allison 1999b). These can be seen as microlevel analyses. Other studies concentrate on examining a number of structures within their contexts, i.e., on the study of a settlement or a community, sometimes as part of its natural and social environment (e.g., Bermann 1994; Nowicki 1999). These can be seen as meso-level studies. In many cases, scholars then extrapolate from their findings onto the society at large (cf., Kramer 1982a: 664). A third type of analysis consists of studies on the role and position of households within an entire society. This is often accomplished through an analysis of many households from diverse locations (e.g., Blanton 1994; see also Nevett 1999). This latter research can be seen as an example of macrolevel studies. In addition to these levels of analysis outlined here, there are many more types of research questions that can be asked, but of the wide range of possible topics, most studies of household economy have concentrated on

examining either the division of labor within the family or household production (e.g., Hendon 1996; Souvatzi 2008: 14–15, and references; see also various papers in Allison 1999b).

It should be noted that, although the large body of archaeological data we possess from ancient Israel allows us to gain many insights into the study of houses and households at all levels of analysis, the present study, which is part of a larger study of Iron Age Israelite society, concentrates on studying the household economy at the macrolevel. This will be accomplished through an examination of data from dozens of structures located in many settlements. Therefore, no attempt is made in this article to examine single structures or even settlements, nor does this article try to study the production or consumption of a particular household. The first part of the article will discuss the evidence from urban and rural settlements in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah during the Iron Age II, and will draw some general conclusions regarding society in those settlement sectors and the place of the households within those economies. This will be followed by a broader discussion of the roles of the various types of households within the larger Iron Age economic spheres of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

Households in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah[1]

Many studies have discussed the ancient Israelite family, but these have been primarily text oriented (e.g., Lemche 1985; Cowling 1988; Wright 1990; 1992; Bendor 1996; Blenkinsopp 1997; Meyers 1997; see also Pedersen 1926; Porter 1967; De Vaux 1965; Reviv 1993), and most of the archaeologically oriented studies, albeit few in number, have focused on the Iron Age I (e.g., Stager 1985a; for a summary of previous research, see Faust 2005, forthcoming b). The few studies that have examined, from an archaeological perspective, the family structure in the Iron Age II have usually referred to excavation results from urban

[1] In the following, I discuss the entire ninth–seventh-century time span (the "Divided Monarchy" in Israel and Judah) as one, and treat the available information as representative of the entire period. In the future, it might be worthwhile to try to dissect the data chronologically and geographically in order to focus on internal variation within this era and among the various regions.

sites and have not generally addressed data from the rural sector (e.g., Holladay 1992, 1995). In a number of studies (e.g., Faust 1999a, 2000, 2005, forthcoming b, and more below), I have attempted to show that several types of households operated in Iron II Israel. Rural households were typically organized as extended families; the situation in the towns, however, was more complex. In the urban sector most families functioned as nuclear families, but the rich and upper classes were able to maintain an extended family structure.

The Urban Household's Economy

Past studies, which examined mainly the size of the residential structures and their internal divisions, showed that most families in the urban sector were nuclear and only a minority of the families lived in extended households (see, especially, Faust 1999a, 2000, 2005, forthcoming b, and references; see also De Vaux 1965; Reviv 1993). Most urban houses were fairly small, averaging some 40–70 m^2. Many, but not all houses, belong to the "four-room" type and most of these are of the three-room subtype. Interestingly, the three basic spaces are not usually further subdivided (or are divided only to a limited extent). The limited size of the structures, especially when compared with rural dwellings (see below), indicates that the number of inhabitants was quite small. The small number of rooms, usually only three including the main activity area, also reflects that the space was not shared by many social units or kinship groups. In addition to this large group of small buildings, there also are a small number of larger urban houses, usually covering some 110–160 m^2. These are nicely built four-room houses, many of whose "spaces" are further subdivided. It appears that the wealthy lived in these larger houses and that many of these buildings housed extended families during the Iron Age (see extended discussion in Faust 1999a, 2000, 2005, forthcoming b).

There is ample evidence for economic activity in urban dwellings, including many installations for the production of foodstuffs and agricultural products. One type of installation that is fairly common in urban houses is the olive press (Fig. 1). Below, I summarize the available information on olive presses found in urban houses (for the location of the sites, see Fig. 2). This listing will serve as examples of the economic activities carried out in urban households.

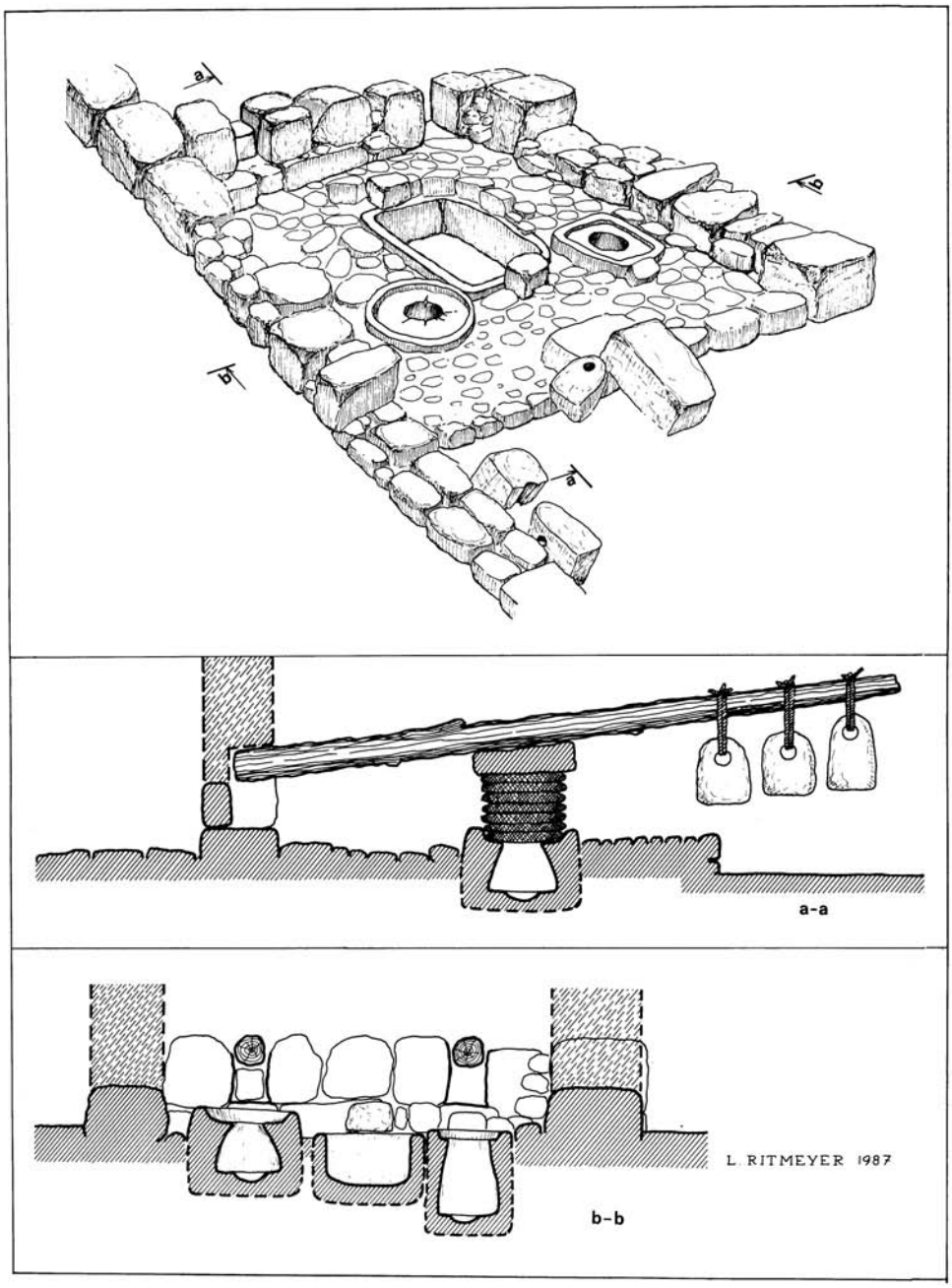


Figure 1. Reconstructed olive press at Tel Batash (courtesy of Amihai Mazar and the Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

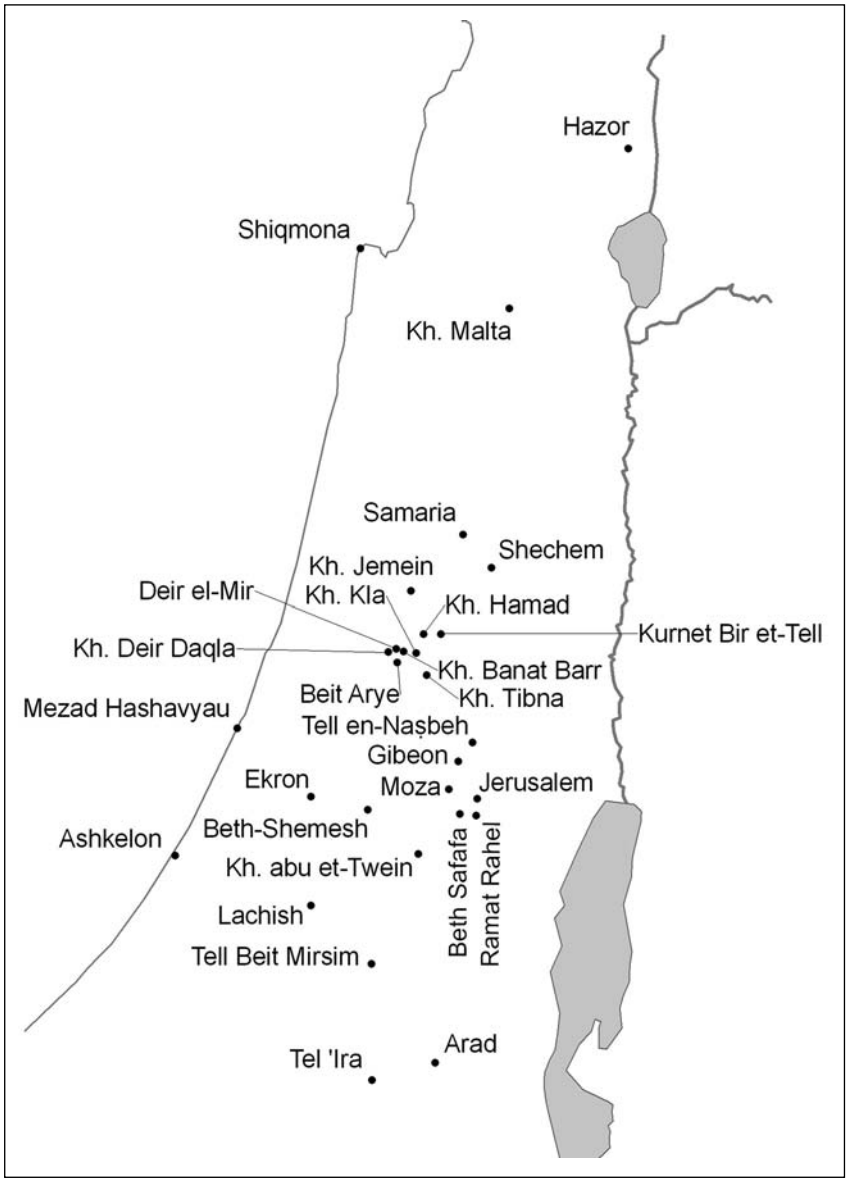


Figure 2. Map showing the location of sites mentioned in the text.



Figure 3. Reconstructed olive press from House 2a at Hazor.

Hazor: A number of small olive presses were unearthed in a few dwellings scattered through the residential areas of Hazor. During Yadin's excavations at the site in the 1950s, an olive press was unearthed in the central room of a large four-room house known as House 2a (Yadin, et al. 1961: Pl. XXVI; Gal and Frankel 1993: 136; see Fig. 3). A few additional olive presses were discovered by the current expedition (Ben Tor 1992: 254–256).

Shiqmona: An olive press was unearthed in the central room of a large four-room house (Elgavish 1994: 59–61).[2]

Shechem: An olive press was found within a small building (Campbell 1994: 41–43; 2002: 271–273).

Tell en-Naṣbeh (Mizpah): A few olive presses were unearthed within a few of the dwellings scattered across the settlement (Eitan-Katz 1994: 21–22, 73, see also map on p. 17).

Tell Beit Mirsim: Approximately thirteen olive presses were unearthed both inside and between dwellings (e.g., Eitan-Katz 1994: 30–33).

Tel Beth-Shemesh: Approximately twenty olive presses have been discovered in and between dwellings, as well as scattered across the settlement (e.g., Eitan-Katz 1994: 26–29; Bunimovitz and Lederman 2000: 255; 2008: 1648; see also Faust forthcoming a).

It should be noted that the small number of installations found at some of these sites probably reflects the limited exposure there; if larger areas had been excavated, more olive presses might have been unearthed. In any event, the abovementioned installations are relatively small (compared to some of the installations discussed below), and since they were found scattered across the urban landscape, each was probably used by the family that dwelt in the building most closely associated with a particular press. Some of the oil was probably used by the building's inhabitants, while surpluses were exchanged with neighbors or in the local market (more below).

It should be stressed that similar installations were not found in all urban houses, and it seems that the inhabitants of those houses where olive presses were not found must have made their living from other activities. These people might have owned winepresses, which are usually located near the agricultural area outside a settlement (Faust 1995:

[2] At a later stage, an industrial area for the production of olive oil was unearthed at the site (Elgavish 1994: 64–67), but this is not relevant for the present discussion.

53, 65, 88), or they could have grown grains or been engaged in some other activity. It is also possible that members of some of the non-olive-pressing households might have made their living as hired labor, in which case the father could have worked as a day laborer. Notably, it is possible that the livelihood of the residents of the houses in which olive presses were found was supplemented by additional agricultural or industrial activities or by working as hired labor.

There is also ample evidence for large-scale economic activities in towns. Large storage buildings,[3] for example, were unearthed at various sites, e.g., at Hazor (a storehouse in Area A; Ben Tor 1999: 37), Jerusalem (storage building in the Ophel; Mazar and Mazar 1989), Lachish (Zimhoni 1990, 2004), and Tel ʿIra (storehouse near the gate; Beit-Arieh 1999). Additional structures related to the economy have also been found, for example, the large complex in Area G at Hazor (e.g., Geva 1989). These structures, however, are all related to the state economy (see below). Unlike the situation in the rural sector (discussed below), at urban sites we do not have any evidence for an economic system above the household and below the state (Faust 2005: 127–128; forthcoming b).

The evidence pertaining to the economy, therefore, indicates that the families that dwelt in urban houses (both large and small) were independent players in the economic arena. Some fared better than others did, but the families (both nuclear and extended) operated on their own, and were not, economically speaking, part of a larger, organized group. These urban families faced the state economy, or the "market," with no buffering mechanism, i.e., they were not part of larger kinship groups or communities that could mediate between the separate households and the "market" or the state (see more below).

The Economy of Rural Households

Past studies that examined the size of residential structures and their internal division have shown that family structure in the rural sector was primarily an extended family: the biblical *beit ʾav* (e.g., Faust 1999a, 2000, forthcoming b, and additional references; see also Reviv 1993).

[3] I am referring to structures in which storage vessels were unearthed and not to the enigmatic pillared buildings (Faust 2005: 111–122; forthcoming b).

Rural houses are fairly large four-room structures (the ground floor usually measures some 120–130 m^2, and in most cases there was probably also a second story) that could house a large number of inhabitants. The four main spaces were usually further subdivided into many smaller rooms and cells, which allowed for the coexistence, within the confines of a building, of many subunits, i.e., separate nuclear families. Furthermore, the fact that internal divisions vary greatly, even when the houses themselves are almost identical, reveals the complex life cycle of the extended family, and the different life cycle stages of different families when the various buildings were destroyed or abandoned (ibid.).

When we look for evidence of economic activity—especially agricultural production—in those houses, we find relatively little. The vast majority of installations for the production of agricultural foodstuffs is not found within the confines of houses, but is concentrated in what seems like agricultural-industrial areas where large quantities of olive oil were produced (see, for example, Fig. 4).[4]

Beit Arye: A small village in western Samaria. An area with more than twenty installations for olive oil production (and a few additional installations) was discovered just outside the village boundary wall (Eitam 1992; see also Riklin 1997).

Kh. Kla: A small village in western Samaria. Two industrial areas were identified, each with a concentration of olive presses (Eitam 1980: 69–70; 1987: 24–25).

Kh. Jemein: A small village in Samaria. An area was discovered containing a number of large (communal?) processing installations (Fig. 4). Notable among the installations is a large oil press that the excavator interpreted as communal (Dar 1986a, 1986b).

Deir el-Mir: A very large village in western Samaria. Several concentrations of installations, mainly for the production of olive oil, were discovered at the site (Gophna and Porat 1972: 232; Eitam 1980).

[4] It is quite clear that these villages produced large quantities of surplus olive oil. This is evident not only through a comparison to the situation in contemporary towns, but also by a number of detailed studies that calculated the quantity of oil that could have been produced in some of the villages and compared it with the needs of the local population (see, e.g., Eitam 1987, 1992).

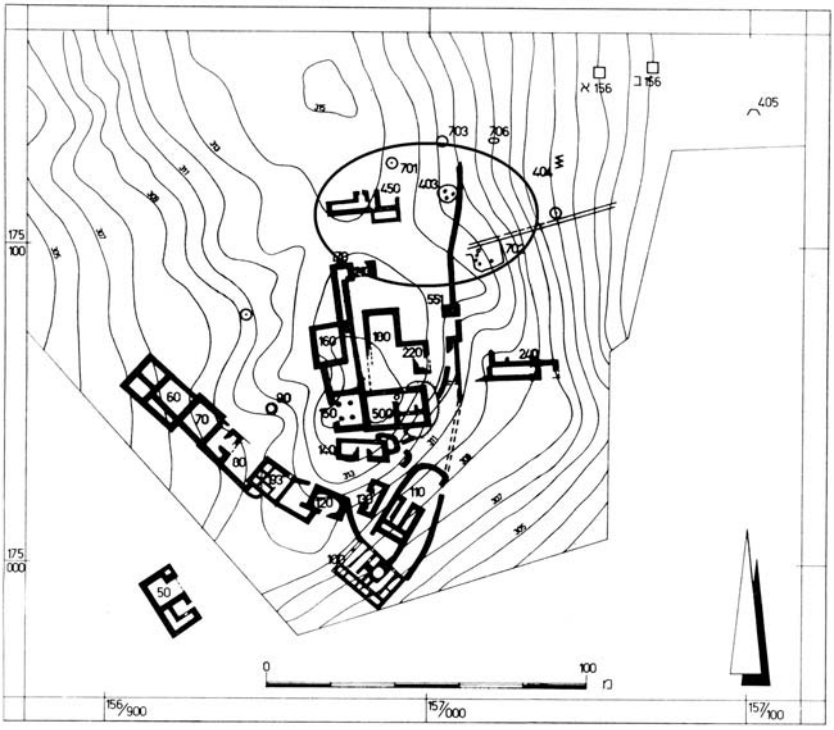


Figure 4. Plan of Kh. Jemein, with the "industrial area" marked (courtesy of Shimon Dar).

Kh. Banat Barr: A large village in western Samaria. A number of industrial areas, each with a concentration of olive presses, were identified (Eitam 1980, 1987: 24; Kochavi 1989b).

Kurnet Bir et-Tell: A village in Samaria. An area with at least ten installations was identified just to the south of the village's boundary wall (Finkelstein 1988: 166; Finkelstein, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 1997: 447).

Sheikh Issa: A village in southern Samaria. A large concentration of Iron Age rock-cut olive presses was identified at the site (Iron Age II is the major period of occupation at the site, see Finkelstein et al. 1997: 389).

Kh. Tibna: A village in Samaria. A large concentration of Iron Age rock-cut olive presses was identified at the site (Finkelstein et al. 1997: 367).

Kh. Malta: A small village in lower Galilee. Though there is no direct evidence for the production of olive oil, the excavator identified

"various rock-cut installations, attesting to the presence of an industrial zone here" (Covello-Paran 1997: 40; see now also Covello-Paran 2008), and I therefore include this site in the present discussion.

This, then, is evidence for economic organization in the villages that is on a higher level than that of the family, or even that of the extended family. I suggest that each lineage had its own industrial area, and the lineage elders were responsible for the organization of production (Faust 2000, forthcoming b). In some villages, there was only one lineage, and, hence, only one industrial area. In other villages there were two lineages, hence, two industrial areas. Some of the larger villages, like Deir el-Mir and Kh. Banat Barr, had four or five lineages, and therefore an equal number of industrial areas. When examined in relation to the larger social matrix, it is quite clear that the rural households were operating within the traditional lineage economic system of ancient Israel, the biblical *mishpaḥah*. That is to say, as part of a larger organizational body that operated in this sector and incorporated within it many families (ibid.; see more below).

Evidence for this organizational framework can be seen not only in the processing of foodstuffs, but also in their storage. Clearly, some of the surpluses that were produced in the industrial areas—those that belonged to the individual *beit ʾav*—were stored in individual houses, but some of them (the produce that belonged to the *mishpaḥah* or possibly intended as taxes) were stored together in communal storage structures, which have been identified in most of these villages:

Beit Arye: A very large building divided lengthwise by pillars was discovered in the western part of the village. Based on its plan, the excavator suggested that it might have been used as a storehouse (Riklin 1997: 12; cf., Herzog 1992).

Kh. Kla: A long building divided into several longitudinal rooms was discovered. The surveyor suggested that it might have been used for storage (Eitam 1980: 70; 1987: 25).

Kh. Jemein: Structure 450 uncovered in the northern part of the village was interpreted by the excavator as a storehouse. Also discovered were a large wine cellar and an installation for the storage of olive oil (Dar 1986a, 1986b; Fig. 4).

Sheikh Issa: A large complex of wine cellars was observed at the site (Frumkin 2005).

Kh. Deir Daqla: A small village in western Samaria. A wine cellar with five entrances was surveyed (Eitam 1980: 49).[5]

Kh. Hamad: A village in Samaria. The surveyor identified a building that he interpreted as a storehouse (Dar 1993: 1314).

All of these storage facilities, located within the different villages, clearly functioned as part of a local economic structure. They are small compared with the large, royal storage facilities unearthed in the cities; they are all located in a rural residential setting, and there is no evidence of royal activity. Royal storehouses would never have been built in these remote locations—unless they were part of a larger royal compound—and would never have been left unguarded and without protection from the very population from which the products were taken. None of these facilities can therefore be attributed to the state/crown. They were clearly part of the lineage economy, like the industrial areas mentioned above.

What is important for our purposes, however, is that both the existence of the large industrial areas and the relatively centralized storage facilities show that the rural families, despite the fact that they were relatively large (usually extended families, see above), did not interact with the outside world on their own. These families were part of a larger kinship group—the lineage—which was responsible for most of the economic activities in which the family participated. The lineage, then, served as a buffer zone, which mediated between individual families and the state or "market."

Discussion: The Households within the Economies of Israel and Judah

It must be remembered that both the urban and rural households were part of a larger economic system. Whether directly or indirectly (i.e., through lineage mediation), the household's economy was integrated into the state economy of the Iron Age.

[5] Wine cellars were also observed in other villages, of which those mentioned here are only a sample.

State Economy in Israel and Judah

This is not the place for an extended discussion of the Iron Age economy, and the following is only a brief summary (see also Faust 2007 and references therein). The state economy can be divided into the system of royal production, the system of royal produce collection (taxation), the system of royal storage (of the collected produce), and the royal system that regulated trade, especially international trade:[6]

1. *Royal system of production*. Large centers for the production of agricultural products were unearthed in various Iron Age locations. Their interpretation as part of a royal production system relates to their size, production capacity, location, and sometimes quality, especially when compared with other production facilities (see more extensive discussion in Faust 2007). A royal center for wine making was identified south of Jerusalem, near Beth Safafa. According to the excavator, some 150,000–200,000 liters of wine were produced there every season; she associated this center with the nearby palatial compound at Ramat Raḥel (Feig 1996, 2003). Additional evidence for royal production can be seen in a series of buildings that were located at sites in the periphery of the Judean Highlands in the Late Iron Age (e.g., Kh. abu et-Twein). While those sites have usually been interpreted as forts, it seems more likely that they served as royal estates and as centers of production for the crown (Faust 2005: 199–207; forthcoming b). While other interpretations are possible, it seems that the large center for the production of wine at Gibeon (e.g., Pritchard 1964) was also a royal enterprise. A clear example of a royal center of production, although in another region (Philistia), was unearthed at Ekron, where more than a hundred olive presses were uncovered (Eitam 1987; Gitin 1997). A few installations that were uncovered at Hazor were interpreted as part of a royal system (Geva 1989: 96–97; in addition to the private installations mentioned above). The letter of the reaper from Mezad Hashavyahu also seems to hint at the existence of a royal system

[6] Most studies of the ancient economy using archaeological data have dealt with the third and fourth categories, while studies based on epigraphic data have also examined the second. The first type has received less attention, but a large body of data reflecting the existence of a royal production system has accumulated over the years (for an extensive discussion, see Faust 2007).

of production (Naveh 1960; Ahituv 1993; regardless of the political identity of this system).

2. *Royal system of produce collection*. Evidence for the royal collection of produce is seen mainly through epigraphic finds. The Samaria ostraca indicate that, along with the existence of the traditional socioeconomic system, there was a royal system of produce collection (e.g., Rainey 1988; more below). The Arad Letters also seem to indicate the existence of such a system.[7] Additional epigraphic evidence for the collection of produce (and its storage) might include the *lmlk* seal impressions; although there is no clear evidence of their function, it is generally agreed that *lmlk* seals were part of a royal system (e.g., Garfinkel 1984; Naaman 1986). The existence of a system that collected produce is also reflected in the existence of organized storage facilities, which will be discussed presently.
3. *Royal system of storage*. Clear evidence for an economic system that collected produce can be seen in the various storage structures identified at many settlements. I am not referring to the enigmatic pillared buildings, whose function is debated although they are clearly connected with the royal system (see, recently, Faust 2005: 111–122, and references therein), nor, of course, to the rural storage facilities that were part of the lineage economy (see above). The relevant structures are those that clearly served as royal storage, e.g., at Tel ʿIra (Beit-Arieh 1999), Jerusalem (Mazar and Mazar 1999), Lachish (Zimhoni 1990, 2004), Hazor (Ben-Tor 1999: 37), etc. (see also above). A royal center for the storage of grains was recently uncovered in Moza (De Groot and Greenhut 2003). It is possible that grain growing there was also a royal responsibility, but this is not certain. Furthermore, if the system at Gibeon was indeed a royal enterprise, then the wine cellars excavated there (Pritchard 1964) were most likely also part of the royal storage facilities.
4. *Royal system of trade regulation*. Evidence for a royal system for facilitating trade can be seen in the inscription reading "jar of the gate," which points to the existence of something like an *agoranomos*; i.e., someone who facilitated trade (Ephʿal and Naveh 1993). It is likely that the many uniform weights uncovered in Late Iron Age

[7] As taxation, see, e.g., Aharoni 1981: 51, 143–144.

strata at sites in Judah were also part of a similar system (Barkay 1992: 360–361; Kletter 1998).

The international trade system is also worthy of a brief discussion. Many studies have already dealt with this issue, basing their analyses on the various texts or on the discovery of imported artifacts (e.g., Elat 1977; Geva 1982; Bikai 1985; Singer-Avitz 1999, 2004; Master 2003). For example, a number of texts (both biblical and others) testify to the typical export items of the region. These included agricultural surpluses (mentioned mainly in the Bible, e.g., Ezek. 27: 17; Hos. 12: 3) and luxury items that were not manufactured locally (mentioned mainly in Assyrian texts, see, e.g., Elat 1977; Cogan 2003). Archaeological evidence also testifies to imported items. Cedars, for example, were found in central sites like Jerusalem and Lachish, and even in more remote sites in the Beersheba and Arad Valleys (Lipschits and Biger 1991). Imported pottery (e.g., Singer-Avitz 1999; Master 2003; but see Faust 2006: 49–64 for Israel and Judah), fish bones (e.g., Lernau and Lernau 1992), shells (Bar-Yosef Mayer 1999: 50–51), and small finds such as ivories (Barnett 1982) also indicate trade. It is quite clear that Israel and Judah were part of an international trade network. Agricultural surpluses, and perhaps also taxes from convoys (Holladay 1995), were used for the purchase/exchange of luxury items, some of which were used by local elites and some of which were paid as tax to Assyria. It should be stressed, however, that unlike in some other parts of the ancient Near East, international trade in Israel and Judah was probably a state endeavor, and the households and lineages were kept out of this system and not directly integrated into it (for extended discussion, see Faust 2006: 58–62, and references).

Relations among Private, Lineage, and State Economies

In the following discussion, the phrase "private economy" refers to the economy of the various families, whether nuclear or extended, who operated independently in the economic arena. "Lineage economy" (see above) refers to the larger organizational body that operated in the rural sector and incorporated within it many extended families. The term "state economy" (or royal economy) refers to the economic systems that were operated by the state(s), as mentioned above. It should be stressed that despite the great differences between the various

systems, and especially the tension between the royal economy and the other types of economies, these different systems can all coexist. Royal economy tends to gradually take over the other economical components (i.e., to gain more and more lands and to monopolize production, both within the state's boundaries and through a process of expansion; cf., Smith and Berdan 1992: 357; Hayden 1994; Trigger 2003: 375–394 and references), but during most of the Iron Age, the different systems coexisted (for more extensive discussion on the social relations between the various components, see Faust 2005, forthcoming b). In the following, I would like, first of all, to discuss the relations between the royal economy and the traditional, lineage economy; later, I will try to reconstruct the way in which all three systems operated together.

Royal Economy and Traditional, Lineage Economy

Interesting evidence for the coexistence of royal economy and traditional lineage economy, as well as to the tension between them, can be seen in the Samaria ostraca. These ostraca have received a great deal of scholarly attention. This is not the place to address the various problems involved in dating the ostraca and interpreting them, and I will only note that, generally speaking, the ostraca can be divided into two groups:[8] one from the fifteenth regnal year, and the other from the ninth and tenth years. Usually, but not always, examples from the first group state the settlement from which the products were shipped in addition to the year, the name of the clan to which this settlement belonged, and the names of senders and recipients. The second group includes, in addition to the year, the name of the settlement from which the products were sent and, usually, the name of the recipients and the type of shipment. There are many debates as to the nature of the ostraca, and even the identity of the king; hence, the dates of the ostraca are not agreed upon. Regardless of the various debates, I believe that Rainey's (1988) suggestion solves most of the problems. He has suggested that both groups are from the same year and both were deposited at the same time, which would explain why they were found together. It therefore follows that these two groups did not

[8] In the following, I follow Aharoni 1979: 156–368; Rainey 1988; and others.

count the regnal years of the same king, but must instead have referred to the regnal years of two coregents (a king and his son). Given their approximate date in the ninth or eighth centuries, and five or six years between the older king and his coregent, the only kings to which the ostraca could be assigned are Jehoash and Jeroboam II. This would date the ostraca to the fifteenth year of Jehoash, and the ninth–tenth year of his son, Jeroboam II. It appears, then, as if the king (Jehoash) received taxes, and these came through the traditional taxation system, i.e., from the various villages, lineages, and clans that produced most of the agricultural produce in the Samaria region and paid some of it as tax. This explains why the ostraca from this year typically include the name of the sender (and the clan), since, without it, the royal accounting of who paid what could not have been done. Taxes were collected from all settlements, especially from the local farmers who lived off their land and were part of the traditional lineage economy; for these farmers, the clan was an important component of their identity.[9] The products mentioned in the ostraca from years nine and ten served to keep the court of the coregent, and were apparently taken mainly from a system of royal estates. Since the royal estates belonged to the king (or coregent), who received all the surpluses and not just part as tax, the name of the "sender" would not have been important, as there was not necessarily any single "sender"—the products were probably sent by officials, and since the estates were not part of the clan system, the clan name is also usually not mentioned in these ostraca.

The Samaria ostraca, therefore, describe the parallel existence of the royal system and the traditional lineage system. The royal system was located primarily in the city, with extensions into the countryside, mainly in the form of estates, while the traditional lineage system operated in the countryside (though it was taxed by the royal system).

Relations between all Three Systems

During the Iron Age II, the private economy operated along with the royal economy in various cities, although direct evidence for the relations between them (like the Samaria ostraca) are lacking. A good example for the integration of all systems can be seen in the seventh

[9] Each clan was composed of many lineages, as discussed above (see also Faust 2000, 2005).

century BCE. At that time, the semiautonomous Kingdoms of Judah and Philistia seem to have formed a single economic (not political of course) unit (Faust and Weiss 2005, forthcoming). The coastal area, where the ports that connected the terrestrial economic system with the Phoenician maritime trade network were located, served mainly for growing vines and producing wine (e.g., at Ashkelon; Stager 1996). The inner Coastal Plain and the Shephelah were used mainly for growing olives and producing olive oil (e.g., at Ekron; Eitam 1987; Gitin 1997; see also Brand 1998). Large parts of Judah were used to grow grains and the surpluses were sold to the coastal region (Weiss and Kislev 2004), while other parts of Judah (e.g., the area around Jerusalem) were used mainly for growing vines and producing wine (e.g., Faust 1997 and references therein; see also Amit 1998; Feig 2003). In a detailed study, Weiss and I (Faust and Weiss 2005, forthcoming) suggest that this system of agricultural production and the accompanying trade fits well with geographical and economic models, and that the entire region (the Judean Highlands, the Shephelah, and the Coastal Plain) functioned as a single economic unit, whose primary center was on the coast, but which also had secondary centers. Judah, which was part of this system, exported its agricultural surpluses and, in return, received various commodities, like cedars (cf., Lipschits and Biger 1991).

It is likely that in many parts of Judah there were royal estates (above) whose surpluses formed an important part of Judah's export in this complex web of exchange. It is quite clear, however, that some of Judah's surpluses were also produced by the population of the towns, villages, and farmsteads that existed at the time. Out of these surpluses, tax was collected from both the traditional lineage economy in the rural sector and the private economy of the urban households. Some of these taxes were consumed by the king and by the state apparatus, but others were exported and helped incorporate Judah into the period's international network. The surplus products that were retained by the producers themselves (apart from what they consumed, of course) were probably exchanged/sold in the local markets, but due to the existence of a developed trade system, it is possible that some of these products also reached other parts of the region, i.e., were eventually also exported. This discussion shows the complexity of the relations between the various systems, and how the lineage and the private economies were well integrated within the state economy, and, at least indirectly, even in the international trade network.

Summary

The archaeological and historical evidence indicates that, during the Iron Age II, there were several levels of socioeconomic systems in Israel and Judah.

In the rural sector, most households were part of a communal, lineage system that paid taxes to the monarchy and was pressed by it, but, generally speaking, maintained their autonomy throughout the period (for the relations between the various components, see Faust 2005, forthcoming b). The lineage economy mediated between the households and the royal economy. In the urban sector there was a private system that was operated by the many nuclear (the majority of urban households) and extended families. It is likely that most families were pressed by the royal system, while some of them (mainly those that maintained the form of the extended family) were part of it. However, whether part of it or not, the urban families interacted directly with the royal system that collected part of their surpluses as tax, and, at least during part of the time, also took charge of (some of) the production (e.g., at Gibeon, Hazor, and Ekron). In the end, however, it must be stressed that these systems—the private family, the lineage, and the royal—coexisted, sometimes in the very same settlements.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES AT TEL BEERSHEBA

Lily Singer-Avitz

Introduction

Archaeological research of ancient tells is based largely on data derived from public structures, such as fortification walls, city gates, palaces, and temples. These structures, however, reflect the way of life of only a small and powerful, high-ranking socioeconomic elite; only limited information is therefore available concerning the way of life of the vast majority of the population. In order to investigate the subject of household activities, we must focus on private dwelling quarters, which, at least in the present analysis, generally can be equated with individual households. A "household" is defined as "the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group" (Wilk and Rathije 1982: 618). Because dwelling units are frequently found in the archaeological record and are small enough to allow for complete or almost complete exposure, the investigation of households can facilitate an effective and independent analysis of the relationship between socioeconomic activities and their manifestation in the material record.

It should be noted, however, that in archaeological excavations "households" can never be exposed in their entirety; the material remains of a dwelling are unearthed, but not the social unit that inhabited the building, as this is often difficult to define. Certain social aspects are not clearly reflected in the material culture, such as the size of the family, which is not necessarily apparent from the size of the building, or the family's wealth and status, since it is usually impossible to extract from the archaeological data details of land or herd ownership, although these were obviously part of the household's property (Watson 1979: 229).

Typologies derived from structural anthropology, which classify households according to familial relationships (kinship) (Nimkoff 1965; Bender 1967; Yanagisako 1979), are not applicable to the archaeological record, and households as recovered in excavations must be classified and discussed according to their functions and activities as

reflected in the finds. The study of "households" can be broken down into three components (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618):

1. *Social:* the demographic unit, which is often based on kinship;
2. *Material:* the dwelling, and the installations and artifacts found inside it;
3. *Behavioral:* the activities that take place inside the dwelling.

These components are bound by a system of reciprocity: the household functions within the realm of a specific material culture that is, in turn, influenced by the demographic makeup of the household and by the activities that are conducted within it. The social and material makeup of the household, however, may be different in every society in such things as demographics (e.g., nuclear family, extended family, etc.) and resources (e.g., cave, tent, house, etc.), which tend to be culturally sensitive.

The third component includes the types of activities that are conducted by the household and within its dwelling space. In cross-cultural studies of households, general similarities can be discerned in the types of activities that take place, although the specific combination of activities may differ (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 621). These activities include production (food and crafts), consumption, storage and accumulation (food, objects, and raw materials), reproduction, and ritual. The basic assumption underlying the present study is that patterns created by the spatial distribution of material culture (e.g., architecture and other finds) are not accidental, but are rather indicative of the "behavior" of an assemblage in ancient times; that is, a spatial pattern of archaeological remains represents activities that were conducted within a space. Therefore, the "behavior" of the assemblage can then be seen as reflecting economic, social, and/or ritual activities.

In this study, I wish to address the following questions: What activities were carried out in the ancient household? Can disparate work areas be defined? Is it possible to differentiate between the location of male and female activities? What, if anything, can be concluded concerning social stratification within the community and the social organization of the household based on the archaeological remains?

In order to collect information on a large sample of households, an area must be excavated that is large enough to expose complete individual units. For this study, Stratum II at Tel Beersheba was seen as an appropriate case study. In a previous article (Singer-Avitz 1996), I

discussed households and the activities carried out within them based on the finds from Stratum II at Tel Beersheba. In that study, I analyzed only some of the excavated dwelling units. In the present study, I wish to expand the discussion to include all the dwelling units uncovered in this stratum and test if the model that was suggested previously fits this larger data set.

The following is a summary of the Stratum II dwelling units, after which is an attempt to define a "household assemblage" that would comprise both the architectural remains and the finds discovered within them. A spatial distribution of the finds in the buildings is investigated through several functional categories, including storage, food preparation, cooking and serving, and crafts. Drawing upon the spatial analysis, I will then attempt to discern activity areas and integrate them into a single social unit, a "household." This should enable me to identify specific activities conducted by the members of the household and assign these activities to various activity areas. I will then compare assemblages from different households, which should make it possible to determine which activities were typical of all households and which were restricted to a certain specialized group or family.

The results of the excavation of Tel Beersheba Stratum II will comprise the basic data for this research, although this study is also informed by ethnoarchaeological studies carried out in Iran (Watson 1966, 1978, 1979; Kramer 1981, 1982b, 1983; Horne 1994), Turkey (Stirling 1965; Hall et al. 1973; Todd 1974), Syria (Sweet 1957; Kamp 1982, 1987, 2000), Jordan (Lutfiyya 1966), Egypt (Lynch 1984), and Israel (Jäger 1912; Canaan 1932, 1933; Dalman 1942; Segal 1967; Rot 1984a, 1984b; Hirschfeld 1995). These studies show that there is a large degree of consistency in domestic architecture and spatial organization across the ancient Near East. These similarities are evident in technical details, daily life patterns, and living conditions in the houses and in their surroundings.

The Archaeological Data

Nine seasons of excavation were conducted at Tel Beersheba by the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University. Yohanan Aharoni directed the excavations from 1969–1975; the 1976, 1993–1995 seasons were conducted by Ze'ev Herzog. Nine Iron Age settlement strata were uncovered on the tell. In Stratum II, which was extensively

excavated, a nearly complete plan of the city was recovered, including public buildings and dwelling quarters that contained rich and varied assemblages of finds (Aharoni 1973; Herzog 1997: 244–248).

The Stratum II city (Fig. 1) was surrounded by a casemate wall and a peripheral street ran parallel to it. "Radial" streets running perpendicular to the peripheral street connected the various parts of the city, leading to the city square near the city gate. The streets were bordered by buildings; those buildings adjoining the city wall made use of the casemate rooms in the wall. Near the city gate stood public buildings, including three units of storehouses. In addition, a water system and various administrative buildings can be discerned in the architectural plan, such as the "Governor's Palace," and the "Basement Building." There is no doubt that the city was built according to a planned layout, and it apparently functioned as an administrative center. Based on typological similarities between the Tel Beersheba Stratum II ceramic assemblage and Lachish Level III (Aharoni 1973: 5–6), the Stratum II city is dated to the latter part of the eighth century BCE and its destruction is assigned to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.

This study focuses on the common dwelling structures at the site, the four- and three-room houses, and excludes most of the public buildings near the city gate and in the center of the city. Only those buildings with complete or nearly complete plans and well-defined boundaries were chosen for this study, as it was not always possible to determine where one building began and another ended. In an attempt to obtain a complete picture of each structure, the following data have been examined: area (based on the interior measurements of the building, excluding the exterior walls), interior division of space, and spatial distribution of finds. The classification of the finds is presented only according to assumed function, without reference to traditional archaeological typologies, as these are not generally considered to be applicable to understanding the "behavior" of a building.

All of the buildings on the tell were built using a similar technique: a mudbrick superstructure superimposed on wall foundations comprising several stone courses. Adjacent buildings shared party walls. The area of the buildings varied widely: some covered ca. 30 m^2, while others reached up to 100 m^2.

Two main types of dwellings with similar plans can be discerned: a four-room type and a three-room type, both of which have been extensively discussed in the literature (e.g., Shiloh 1970, 1973; Stager 1985a: 11–17; Netzer 1992; Holladay 1997; London 2003). Scholarly



Figure 1. Public buildings in Stratum II at Tel Beersheba.

opinion is divided on such subjects as the location of the courtyard and the main activity areas, and the existence of a second floor. In addition to these types of houses, which are known from all excavated sites of this period, a number of buildings were uncovered at Tel Beersheba that do not belong to either of these two types.

Four-Room Houses (Fig. 2)

Eleven buildings of varying sizes (60–100 m²) were defined as four-room houses. In most of the four-room houses at Tel Beersheba, the central space was typically separated from the side units by a row of pillars on one side and a wall on the other, although, in some of the buildings, the central unit was flanked by either two rows of pillars or two walls. The buildings erected against the city wall made use of the casemates as back rooms. These eleven four-room houses were divided into three subtypes.

1. Buildings of the first subtype have small rooms or spaces in the front. In the Western Quarter, three such buildings were exposed that adjoin the casemate wall (Buildings 25, 75, 76) and were entered from the peripheral street. These buildings include two to three small front rooms—one of which contains stairs—three long rooms, and back rooms (the casemate rooms). The area of each building is ca. 60–70 m². Beit-Arieh has discussed the architecture of these buildings in detail (1973a: 31–37). The plans of two additional buildings in the Southern Quarter (Buildings 607, 630) resemble those of the three buildings in the Western Quarter. Here, too, the entrance is from the peripheral street, but there are no stairs in the front rooms and the area of each of these buildings is ca. 100 m².
2. Buildings of the second subtype resemble the first group but lack front rooms. In the Northwestern Quarter, two such buildings, Buildings 770 and 812, stood on either side of the peripheral street and measured ca. 80 m² and 70 m² respectively. In neither building were stairs found. Three small buildings of this subtype were found in the Central B Quarter. These measured from 33 m² to 48 m² (Building 956: 48 m²; Building 1441: 33 m²; Building 468: 42 m²). Two of them (Buildings 468, 956) had stairs in the front.
3. One building in the Central B Quarter represents a third subtype (Building 855). This building, covering ca. 60 m², was accessed from

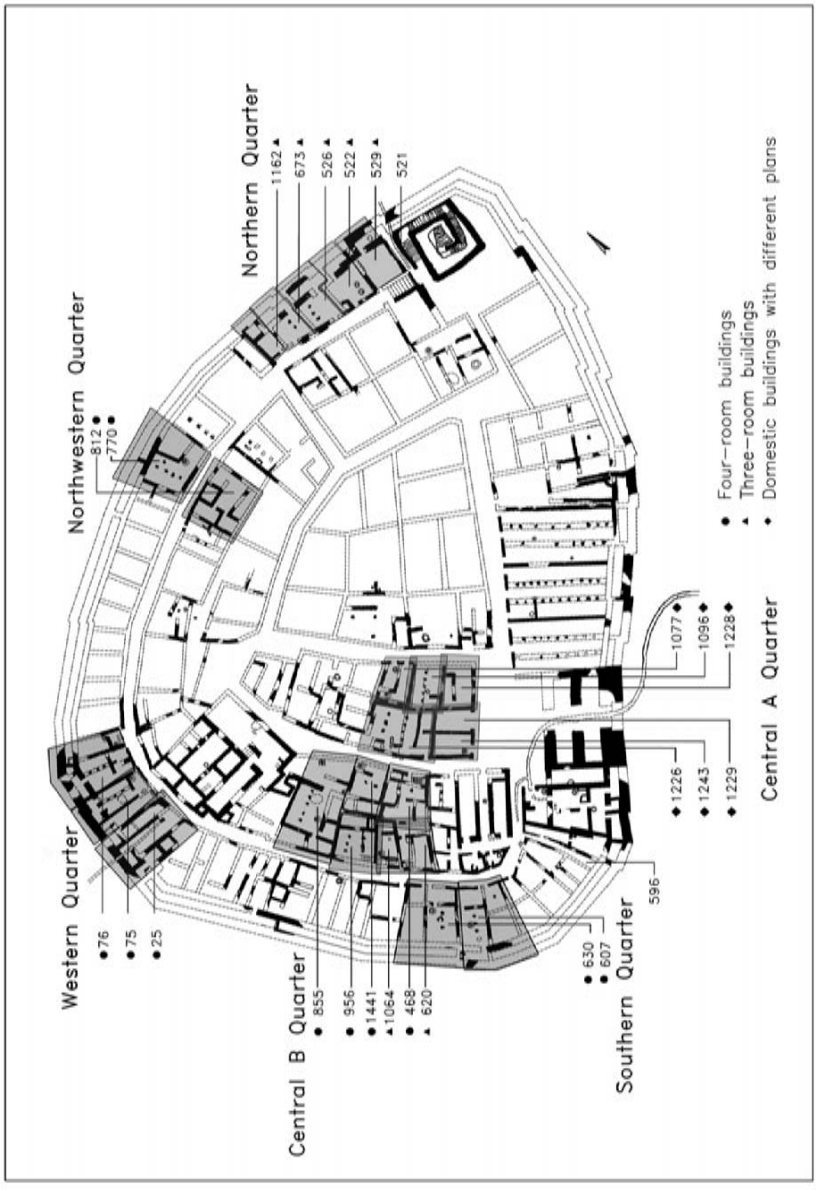


Figure 2. Domestic residential quarters in Stratum II at Tel Beersheba.

one of the radial streets. It had a relatively large front courtyard (ca. 40 m^2) containing stairs and an oven, and a central long room. Near the doorway was an additional oven. This building type lacked the small front room, which was replaced by a courtyard.

Faust (2002: 303–306) has argued that all of the buildings comprising the circumference belt of the city were of the three-room type (for further discussion of this building type, see below), with a corridor separating each pair of buildings through which it was possible to reach the city wall quickly during times of danger. He further presumes that in all cases neither the casemate nor the corridor belonged to a specific building. Compare the city plan (Fig. 3a) as published in the excavation report by Beit-Arieh (1973a: Pl. 94) with Faust's reconstruction (Fig. 3b) (Faust 2002: Fig. 6) in which Room 28 in Building 25 and Room 124 in Building 76 are marked in black and defined as corridors. According to the original excavation report, both of these rooms contained stairs and an oven. The entrance to these rooms from the street was also narrowed by a wall. It is unlikely that a space with such a narrow entrance containing stairs and an oven was used for public passage. Additionally, one can compare these "corridors" to two clearly defined passages that connect the peripheral street with the city wall: one southwest of Building 430 (Locus 596) and the other one abutting the water system (Locus 521) (Figs. 1, 2). In these two instances, it is clear that no obstacles block these passages and the entrances to them is the same width as the passages themselves. Therefore, I would argue that these buildings should be considered of the four-room type as initially suggested, and not of the three-room type as argued in Faust's reconstruction.

Analysis of the Spatial Distribution of the Finds

The spatial distribution of finds in all four-room houses was similar but not identical; there is a slight difference between the buildings built against the casemate wall (Fig. 4a) and the buildings situated on the opposite side of the peripheral street (Fig. 4b). In most of the buildings adjoining the casemate wall (except Building 76, which will be discussed later), there is a distinct similarity in the distribution pattern of the finds (Fig. 5). Thirty to fifty percent of the vessels found in the buildings were concentrated in the central room, mainly near the

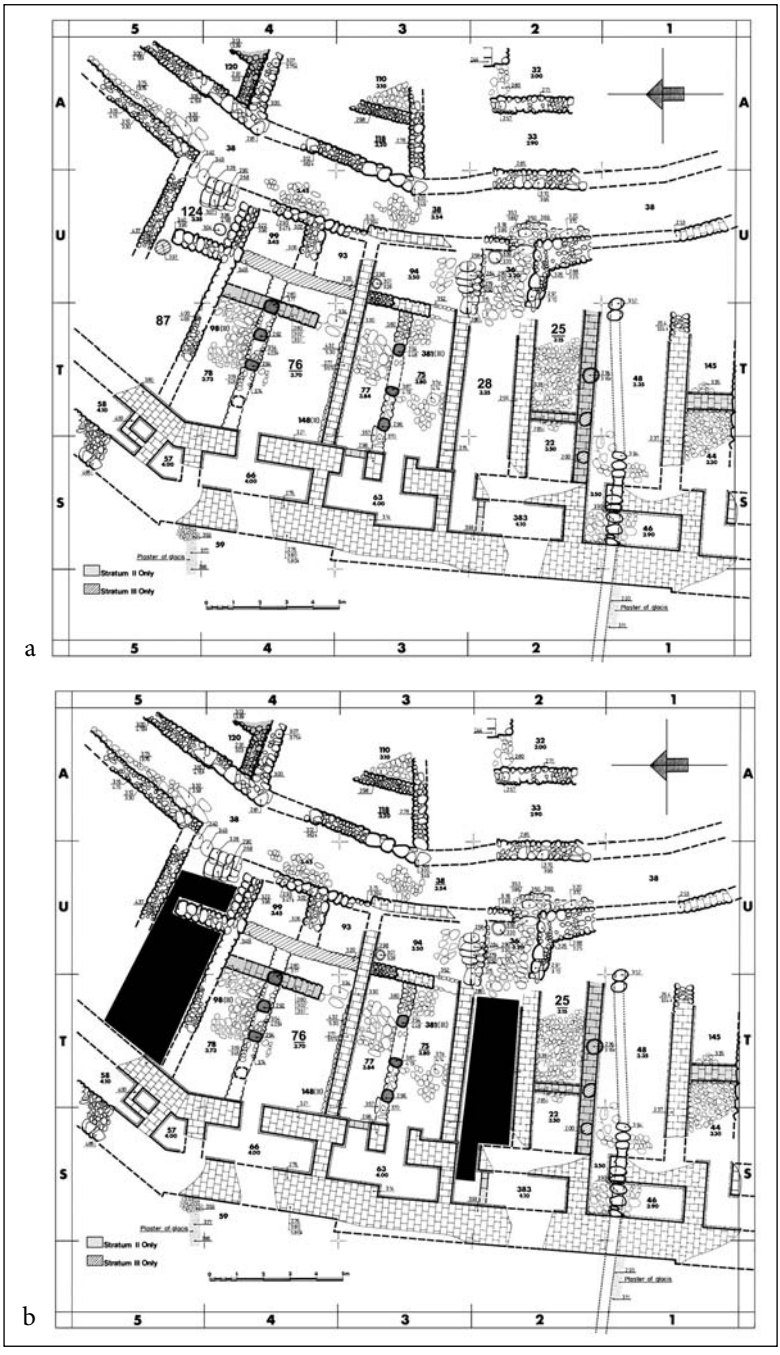


Figure 3. The Western Quarter: (a) after Beit-Arieh 1973a: Pl. 94; (b) After Faust 2002: Fig. 6.

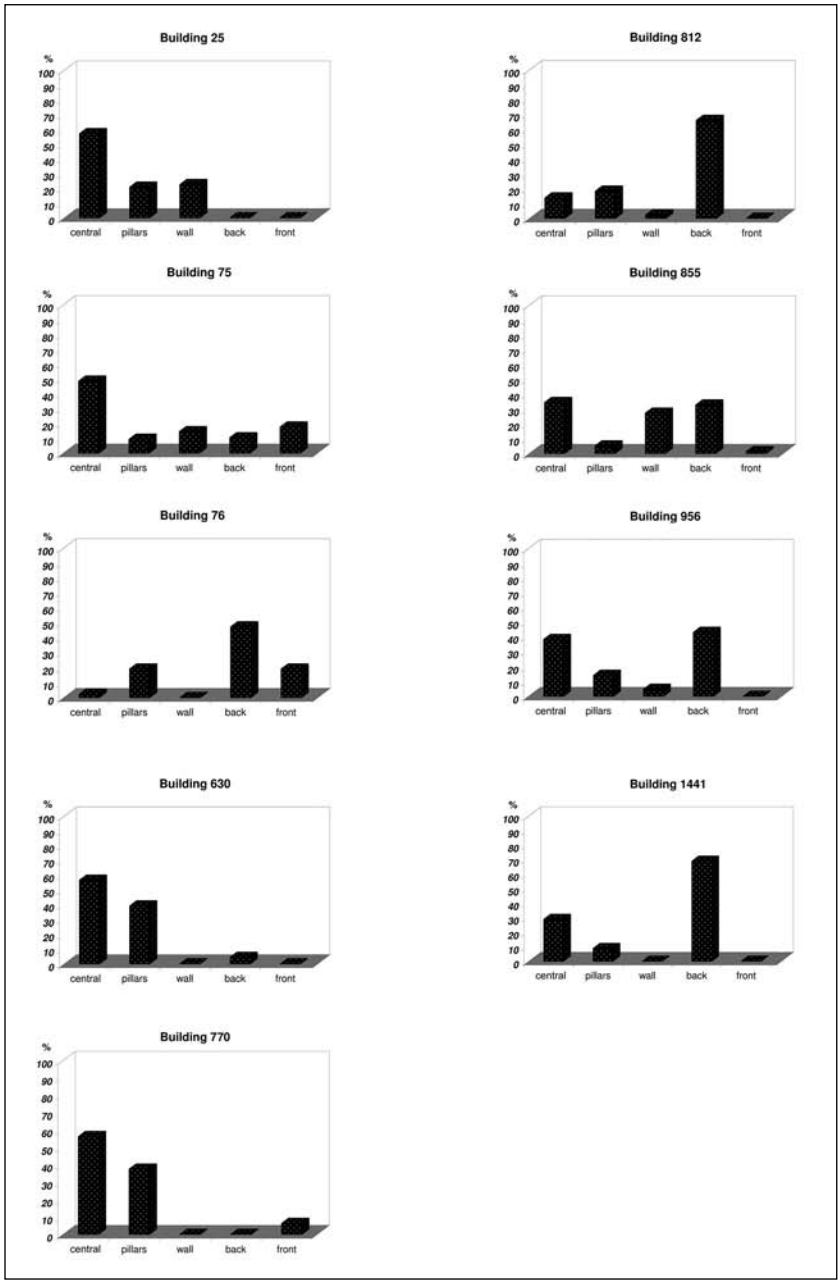


Figure 4. Distribution of pottery vessels in four-room houses according to room type: (a) buildings built against the casemate wall; (b) buildings built on the inner side of the peripheral street.

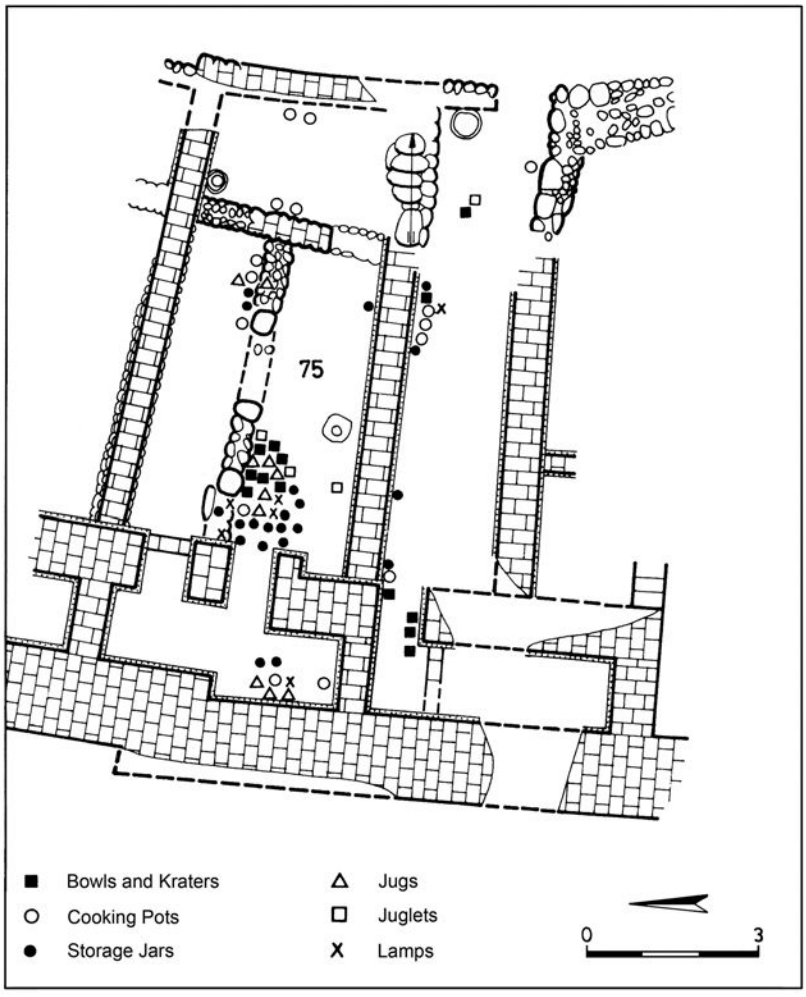


Figure 5. Spatial distribution of pottery vessels in four-room Building 75.

pillars. In some cases, small compartments in the spaces between the pillars may have been used to store vessels. Sometimes vessels were also found near the walls; perhaps these vessels had originally stood on shelves or in niches in the wall. Much of the assemblage in this room was made up of storage vessels, such as storage jars and holemouth jars (25–35% of the vessels in the central room). Large concentrations of clay loom weights were also found in the central room, as well as grindstones. Ovens were located in one of the front rooms or in one of

the long rooms.[1] In the side room that was separated from the central room by a row of pillars, fewer vessels were found, and these were usually located near the pillars. It is possible that vessels were originally stored in the above-mentioned compartments between the pillars and then fell into the side room when the building was destroyed. In the buildings with rooms separated from the central room by a wall, these side rooms also contained relatively few vessels. Sometimes loom weights were also found there.

A large number of vessels were found in the back rooms of the four-room houses; in contrast, however, there was usually very little pottery, mainly small vessels, such as bowls and juglets in the buildings along the city wall where the casemates formed the back room of the house.

Functional Analysis of the Various Rooms

Data derived from the spatial distribution suggests that the large central room in these four-room houses was used to store supplies and vessels, including storage jars; it is difficult, therefore, to accept the suggestion (Shiloh 1973: 278; Fritz 1995: 141) that this area functioned as an open court. The large concentrations of loom weights in these rooms indicate that weaving was performed here. A similar phenomenon has been observed in ethnographic research on houses in the Near East. Weaving is usually a domestic craft, and in most cases it is not carried out on an industrial scale (Koster 1976: 38; Watson 1979: 174–186; Barber 1991: 283–298; Nelson 1997: 109–110). It is typical of the winter months, since sheep shearing took place in the springtime; in the summer the wool was spun and sometimes also dyed. Weaving was performed by women or girls, mostly inside the house. Thus, it would seem that the central room of these four-room houses, although usually considered to have been an open courtyard, may actually have been a roofed space. Considerations of comfort and protection from the weather, mainly in the winter, further support this suggestion (Stager 1985a: 15).

In most buildings, stone mortars and grindstones were found in the central room. However, as grindstones were also retrieved from

[1] For an ethnoarchaeological discussion of types of ovens, their locations, and life spans, see McQuitty 1993–1994.

the long side rooms and the front rooms, it appears that grinding was not relegated to any specific location, but took place in various parts of the building.[2]

The interior of the house in the traditional village was also used for stabling the sheep and goats. In many Palestinian peasant houses, which often comprise only one room, internal division was achieved by different floor levels: the entrance level was at the same level as the courtyard surface and was used as animal stables, while the back of the room, which took up three quarters of the area of the house, was at a higher level and functioned as the living quarters (Jäger 1912: 24–25; Canaan 1933: 35). The number of animals per household was small, from four to twenty, and the sheep from several households were taken to pasture together as a single herd (Rot 1984b: 58). Such a herd contained 150 to 200 heads on average, and was shepherded either by the different owners in turns (Watson 1979: 94) or by permanent shepherds (Lutfiyya 1966: 128).

In a number of examples, one of the side rooms in the Tel Beersheba buildings was found empty or nearly empty of vessels. This may suggest that this area was used for the stabling of animals. It is possible that the other side rooms were used for storage, although not necessarily of food. In modern traditional houses the side room is often used to store various materials to be consumed by the household, such as fuel (dried dung cakes prepared by the women, or twigs and branches), fodder for the animals, and straw for building (Watson 1979: 295; Hirschfeld 1995: 280). We can perhaps deduce from these examples that the side room functioned as a type of storeroom, although no direct evidence supports this idea.

In most of the four-room houses, the front rooms contained ovens and stairs. Sometimes there were two ovens in the same building, one in the front room and another in one of the long rooms, usually located near an opening. Why would two ovens be needed in two different rooms? Spaces with ovens are usually defined as open courtyards (Shiloh 1973: 278 note 31). This suggestion is based on the assumption that an oven emits smoke and must therefore be located in exterior areas, or at least unroofed space. However, ethnographic evidence indicates that ovens are usually located in roofed courtyards (Avitzur et al. 1971: 21; Watson 1979: 122; McQuitty 1984: 265). Sometimes, an

[2] For recent grindstone analyses, see Rowan and Ebeling 2008.

opening in the ceiling was made to allow the smoke to escape (Stirling 1965: 21; Hirschfeld 1995: 274), but in most cases, there is no particular ventilation and the ceiling becomes black with soot (Watson 1979: 122). An additional oven might also be built in an open courtyard for use in the summer (Watson 1979: 159). Thus, it can be assumed that at Tel Beersheba if a house contained two ovens, the one in the long, central room was in a roofed space while the additional oven was in a courtyard (see subtype 3) or in the front room, which was used as a substitute for a courtyard (see subtype 1).[3]

Another question that arises is if the stairs in these front rooms led to a second floor or to the roof of the first floor, which may then have been used as an open space. It seems since most of the houses lacked a large courtyard, the roof could have served a similar function. In comparison with present-day traditional construction, it can be assumed that the roof was exploited mainly for drying food, wool, and dung cakes—activities that necessitate large areas that are inaccessible to animals. Rooftops may also be used for sleeping on summer nights (Segal 1967: 25). The use of the roof as an open area for crafts (Segal 1967: 25) strengthens the hypothesis that the central room was also roofed, since an open space in the middle of the house would decrease the area available for the above-mentioned activities.

In summary, the typical plan of a household building at Tel Beersheba included a small front courtyard or entrance room leading to a central living space, which housed work areas as well as areas for stabling animals and storing goods. Since the area within the city walls of Tel Beersheba Stratum II was limited, most of the buildings did not have a courtyard, thus, the space needed for living and household activities was enlarged by use of the roof. Most of the activities took place in the central, multifunctional, living space, including such things as food preparation, eating, grain grinding, weaving, and spinning. Based on ethnographic parallels, this room was also used by the family for sleeping; according to one ethnographic account, mattresses and wool blankets were typically rolled up and put aside during the day (Fuller 1961: 95). In the other rooms, specific activity areas were more clearly defined, but in all four-room houses at Tel Beersheba

[3] For the number of ovens in roofed spaces, see also Daviau 1993: 449, 451 and Chart 6.1 on p. 450; Gadot and Yasur-Landau 2006: 587.

Stratum II, a wide variety of activities took place throughout the various rooms of the dwelling unit.

In Building 76, uncovered in the Western Quarter, the distribution of finds was unique. Most of the artifact assemblages were recovered in the casemate rooms as opposed to the central room, which was where most of the artifacts were uncovered in the four-room houses discussed above. In the central room of Building 76, the remains of a stone and mud installation were discerned resting against one of the pillars, and a pile of unprocessed clay was found between two other pillars. The excavators suggested that the stone and mud installation was a pottery kiln (Beit-Arieh 1973a: 35).[4] The fact that some pebbles, possibly used for burnishing, were found nearby strengthens the hypothesis that this building functioned as a potter's dwelling and workshop. Cross-cultural ethnographic studies have shown that some artisans, including potters, often work in their places of residence (Rot 1984a: 18; Kramer 1985: 80). Pottery production is often a seasonal occupation, carried out mainly in the spring and summer when the agricultural work is finished (Kramer 1985: 80; Wood 1990: 38). Also of note are an iron plowshare and two additional iron agricultural tools that were also found in this building (Beit-Arieh 1973b: 43–44). Thus, although the plan of Building 76 resembles those of the other buildings, based on the types of finds and their distribution, it appears that specialized production activity took place here that was unique to this particular building.

Three-Room Buildings (Fig. 2)

In addition to the four-room houses, a number of three-room buildings were also excavated. Most of the three-room buildings were found in the Northern Quarter adjoining the casemate wall and a few were identified in the dwelling quarters on the opposite side of the peripheral street.

In those buildings that adjoined the city wall (Buildings 529, 522, 526, 673, 1162), the back room was part of the casemate city wall as well

[4] Pottery kilns are not usually built near the place of vessel production, but situated far from inhabited areas (Rice 1987: 156). It should not be surprising, therefore, that no other pottery kilns were found within the settlement.

as an integral part of the dwelling. The central space was formed by two long rooms that were separated by a row of pillars. These three-room buildings lack front rooms, courtyards, and stairs. Their average size is ca. 40 m²; only one of these buildings covers an area of ca. 50 m².

The ceramic assemblage in these buildings primarily consisted of small vessels, including bowls, kraters, cooking pots, jugs, and juglets, and a relatively small number of storage jars. Interestingly, cooking and baking installations, as well as those vessels considered characteristic of a household and reflecting the existence of a kitchen, (Chang 1958: 302) were lacking. In addition, no grindstones, loom weights, or spindle whorls were found. These buildings also lack stairs to the roof. It would appear that the range of activities that took place in the three-room buildings in the Northern Quarter was more limited than in the four-room houses. Activities that can be attested include short-term storage of vessels and food and food consumption. Food preparation, baking, and cooking were apparently not conducted in these buildings, but rather food was probably brought to them. Weaving and spinning, activities typically performed by women, (Watson 1979: 174–186, 298; Barber 1991: 283–298; Nelson 1997: 109–110) also were not conducted here. These buildings lack some of the features that are considered typical of households, and it seems therefore that the occupants of these buildings had no family members living with them.[5] Thus, I would like to suggest that these dwellings were domestic consumption units (as opposed to dual domestic consumption and production units, see more below), inhabited by functionaries, or perhaps soldiers, whose needs were catered to by the authorities.

Two additional three-room buildings, Buildings 620 and 1064, were excavated in the Central B Quarter. Both buildings are small (33 m² and 18 m², respectively), and have a staircase at the front. Building 1064 also had an oven. The distribution of finds in both buildings exhibits a pattern similar to that of the standard four-room houses: most of the finds, including loom weights, were recovered from one of the long rooms. In Building 620, a silo was constructed against the wall, which may explain why a small number of storage jars was also found there.

[5] Building 430, which is not discussed here, contained three relatively large ovens and three constructed silos. It is possible that this building functioned as a central "bakery," providing goods to the inhabitants of the Northern Quarter.

Houses with Different Plans (Fig. 2)

In the Central A Quarter, some of the building plans are completely different from those discussed so far, i.e., they fall in neither the four- nor three-room building plan. Building 1226, covering 63 m², comprises four long rooms separated from one another by two rows of pillars and a wall. It yielded a large assemblage of 123 vessels, of which 90 were concentrated alongside one of the rows of pillars.

Buildings 1077 (24 m²) and 1096 (26 m²) were built against the back of Building 1226. They are each made up of parallel long rooms, and together these two buildings may have originally been one building similar in plan to Building 1226, which was later divided by a wall to form two smaller units. In these two buildings, whose total area is ca. 50 m², a few finds were recovered, but they do not allow for a determination of the activities carried out in the buildings or their significance.

Additional buildings in this area included Buildings 1228 and 1229. Building 1228, measuring 28 m² in area, contained no finds apart from four arrowheads and a small seal. Building 1229, measuring 35 m², comprised two long rooms that both opened onto the city square. In the earlier Stratum III, the entrances to the two rooms were wide, but in Stratum II, one of them (Room 1243) was made narrower.

Based on the finds, it is difficult to reach any specific conclusions as to why the plans of the buildings in this quarter differ from those in the other quarters. Building 1226, and perhaps also the pair of buildings behind it, Buildings 1077 and 1096, contained ovens, grindstones, and loom weights, all suggesting they were used as dwellings. The other two buildings in this area, Buildings 1228 and 1229, contained very few pottery vessels or other finds that attest to household activities. The location of the latter building near the city gate, the width of the entrances (at least in Room 1229), and the lack of finds indicative of household activities lead me to conclude that these buildings were not used as dwellings, but served a public function, perhaps as a hostel or guest house for visitors to the city.

Engendering Activities

The historic and ethnographic data (Seger 1981: 102; Jameson 1990: 104; Jackson 1991; Watson and Kennedy 1991: 259) suggest that the

house and its surroundings were largely the domain of women, who engaged in everyday activities pertaining to the family. The men, on the other hand, spent most of their day outside the house, cultivating the fields or participating in political or religious functions (Watson 1979: 298). It therefore can be suggested that the finds in a typical household are associated primarily with the activities of women, while in buildings occupied only by men, these types of household artifacts might be missing. Based on this suggestion, an attempt was made here to differentiate between male and female living spaces or activity areas in the Stratum II buildings at Tel Beersheba.

Food Preparation

According to ethnographic studies, activities connected with food preparation and cooking are generally carried out by women (Nelson 1997: 104–106).[6] Objects found in the archaeological record that can be associated with food preparation are cooking ovens, grindstones, mortars, and cooking pots. As ovens are considered the most basic component for defining the existence of a kitchen (Chang 1958: 302), we can assume that oven location indicates areas of female activity. Grindstones, mortars, and cooking pots were often found next to ovens, but in other places as well, which suggests that grinding was done in various locations within the house.

Weaving and Spinning

Accumulations of loom weights were found mainly in the central room of the four-room houses and indicate the presence of a loom. Since weaving was typically carried out by women (Watson 1979: 174–186; Barber 1991: 283–298; Brumfiel 1991; Nelson 1997: 109–110), these too may point to the location of women's activity areas. Since spinning is a task also performed by women (Brumfel, 1991; (Barber 1991: 283–298; Nelson 1997: 109–110), I expected to find a correlation between

[6] An interesting study of skeletal remains from Neolithic graves at Abu Hureyra in northern Syria demonstrated that "the majority of the toe bones that show articular changes associated with kneeling are from females. Therefore, it can be inferred that most of the grain preparation was carried out by women and girls" (Molleson 2007: 191–192).

the distribution of loom weights and spindle whorls. An analysis of their distribution in the Tel Beersheba Stratum II buildings, however, has shown that there is only a partial correlation in the spatial distribution of these two types of artifacts. Concentrations of loom weights were found in approximately forty loci and eight spindle whorls were found in seven loci, of which only three also contained concentrations of loom weights.[7]

Weapons

Can the presence of weapons in certain spaces of the house reflect male activity areas? The answer, according to the distribution of finds, is apparently "no." Even if such finds were recovered, my assumption is that they indicate storage areas rather than specific activity areas.

Jewelry

Items such as iron and bronze rings, bracelets, earrings, and fibulae were found in Stratum II. Based on the analysis of finds from Iron Age cemeteries in the southern Levant, it is clear that rings, bracelets, anklets, and earrings are found in burials of both sexes and all ages (Bloch-Smith 1992: 82; Green 2007), thus, their spatial distribution in the various dwellings at Tel Beersheba cannot be used as a reflection of gendered activities.

Domestic Ritual

Female Figurines

Most of the clay figurines found at Tel Beersheba Stratum II are zoomorphic (ca. 150), but there are also 47 female figurines of various types. A diversity of opinions has been expressed regarding the significance and function of figurines ('Amr 1980, 1988; van der Toorn

[7] Bone spatulas have also been suggested as possible weaving tools (Tufnell 1953: 397; Van Beek and Van Beek 1990; Friend 1998: 6–7). At Tel Beersheba, spatulas were recovered in 43 Stratum II loci, of which 30 contained also loom weights. Thus, according to this data, there appears to have been a functional connection between the craft of weaving and spatulas.

2002). An analysis of the spatial distribution of all the clay figurines found in Stratum II indicates that most were found in domestic buildings. Only a few were found in public structures. No further distribution pattern of any significance was discerned. Based on their spatial distribution in the dwellings, it can be established that figurines were basic household items that probably played a role in household cult. It remains to be determined, however, if female figurines were used only in women's domestic rituals and therefore would reflect women's activity areas.

Stone Altars

Seventeen small stone altars were found in Stratum II, some in public buildings (such as Building 430, the storehouses and the "Basement Building") and others in dwellings. Remarkably, none were found in buildings in the Western and Southern Quarters. While it is possible that these altars were used in household ritual, they may also have had a secular function. In the opinion of Neufeld (1970: 430–431), the burning of incense improved the smell in the house (where ventilation conditions were far from ideal), and the smoke drove insects away, possibly preventing disease.

In summary, differentiating between male and female activity areas is a difficult task. Only a limited number of activities can be distinguished, such as cooking and weaving, which were typically performed by women. It is possible that, in the majority of the dwellings, men and women shared most spaces (Hingley 1990: 141).

The Relative Wealth of the Households

Is it possible to assess, based on the remains of the domestic buildings, the wealth of the households and the social status of their occupants? As mentioned above, the three-room buildings in the Northern Quarter were not occupied by typical households, nor were some of the buildings in the Central Quarter. Thus, in an attempt to estimate the relative wealth of the Tel Beersheba households, I have chosen to analyze only the four-room houses (those adjoining the city wall, as well as those opposite them, on the peripheral street) and only the three-room buildings located on the inner side of the peripheral street.

In the opinion of Faust, architecture is the best tool for identifying socioeconomic differences (Faust 1999b, 2005: 45–46). In his analysis of the dwellings at several sites, including Tel Beersheba, he examines three components: (1) the area of the building; (2) the quality of the construction (mainly whether it was built according to a plan and whether it displays straight walls and corners); and (3) the number of party walls with adjacent buildings (Faust 2005: 50–110). As for the above-discussed dwellings at Tel Beersheba Stratum II, it is evident that most of them were built according to a standard plan: the walls were straight, the building techniques and materials were similar, and no special investment of effort is evident. In addition, all the buildings shared party walls with adjacent structures. Traces of cedar wood, which was imported from Lebanon and therefore possibly reflects wealth or status, suggest that cedar had apparently been used as building material in public structures (e.g., the storehouses and the "Basement Building"), as well as in private dwellings (e.g., Buildings 25 and 770). The domestic units differ from one another mainly in their size, which ranges between 33 and 100 m^2. Therefore, the question arises if size alone can be used as a reflection of the status of the inhabitants, or if the number of vessels within a building is a more accurate reflection of status, as suggested by Wood (1990: 90), or whether there is a different method by which "status" should or can be measured. Ethnographic studies have revealed that in certain societies there is a correlation between the size of a house and the level of wealth (Smith 1987: 301), but there are also societies in which the houses of the social elite are not different from others (Todd 1974: 85–88; Kamp 1987). Since construction with mudbricks is relatively cheap, the size of the house may not necessarily attest to the wealth of the residents (Kamp 2000: 84).

Fig. 6 (the x axis denotes building numbers) and Table 1 present a comparison between the size of buildings and the number of complete pottery vessels found in them. Do the data support the hypothesis that the larger buildings belonged to wealthier households or owners of higher status? Does Building 1441, with the smallest area but the largest assemblage of vessels, represent a poorer household than other buildings (e.g., Buildings 630, 770) that cover significantly larger areas but yielded relatively few finds? It is clear from the data presented that larger buildings do not necessarily contain more vessels, nor was any correlation found between the number of vessels and either a public or a private building. In fact, buildings defined by their plans as public

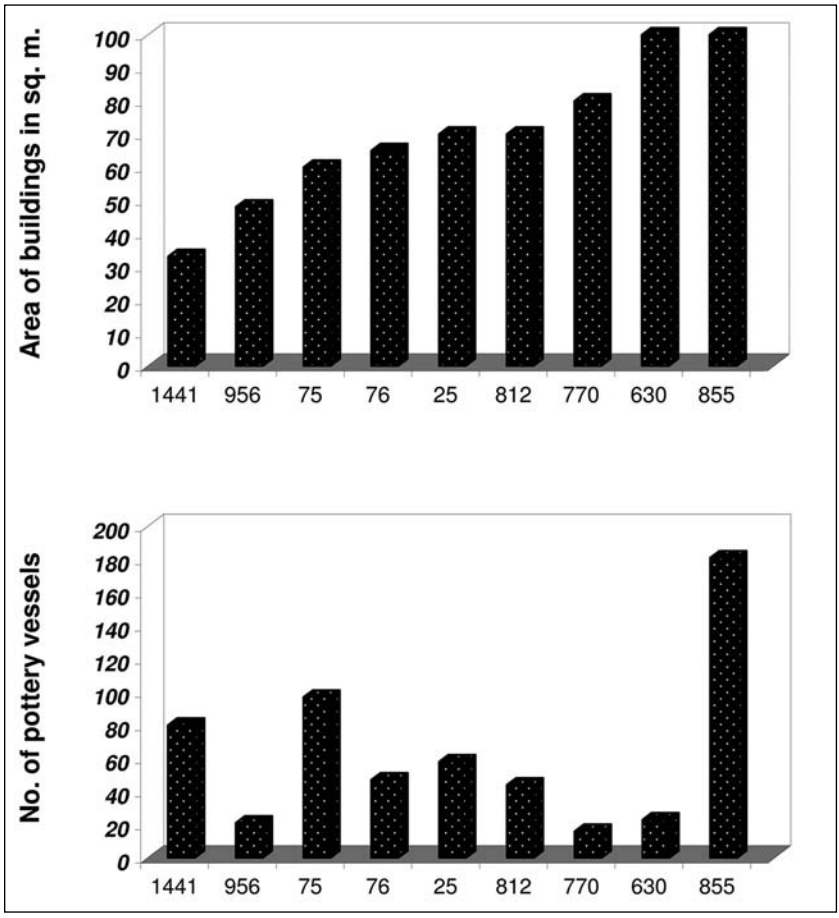


Figure 6. Comparison between area of buildings and number of vessels found in them.

structures sometimes contained fewer vessels than domestic buildings, as, for example, the "Governor's Palace," in which a total of 71 vessels was recovered, as compared to 80 in domestic Building 1441.

Anthropological studies have also suggested that, in response to fluctuations in the standard of living, corresponding changes are often reflected in household contents before changes appear in architecture (Smith 1987: 302). Therefore, consumer products might be a good indicator of a household's total wealth (Smith 1987: 306). The question that must be asked, then, is which artifact types are indicative of a change in the affluence of a household? The definition of luxury items in the archaeological record is problematic. Pottery vessels

Table 1. The percentage of serving and hosting vessels in the assemblages from different buildings in comparison to the size of the buildings, the number of pottery vessels and the types of artifacts

Building No.	1441	956	75	76	25	812	770	630	855
Area in m^2	33	48	60	65	70	70	80	100	100
Number of pottery vessels	80	21	97	47	58	52	16	23	181
Number of serving vessels	30	4	11	9	6	6	4	5	65
Percentage of serving and hosting vessels in the pottery assemblage	37%	19%	11%	19%	10%	11%	25%	21%	36%
Number of different types of artifacts	15	8	10	11	13	8	7	7	23

in themselves are cheap, common, and available to all (Gill 1988, 1991; Vickers and Gill 1994); historical studies emphasize the lack of correlation between socioeconomic status and pottery vessels (Kelso 1984: 205–206; Adams and Boling 2000). In some cases, rare imported objects, which are difficult to obtain, may be considered luxury items. In Stratum II at Tel Beersheba, most of the small finds were made of cheap, locally available materials. In any event, an analysis of the spatial distribution of items that may have been imported (such as metal, faience, or alabaster objects) revealed no significant pattern.

According to a model based on historical, ethnographic, and sociological data, Smith suggested that the assemblage of vessels used to serve food is the "most useful class of archaeological artifact for assessing wealth" (Smith 1987: 312). Social and family ceremonies are an opportunity to display the wealth of the hosting household. In every social system, wealth and status are associated with the frequency and character of the household's "consumption rituals" (a term coined by Douglas and Isherwood 1979: xxii). A wealthy household tends to host more often; its members' wealth will therefore be expressed in the number of serving vessels they own. A great variety or diversity of material goods can be an additional indicator of the economic position of the household, as affluent households tend to purchase a wider variety of products (Smith 1987: 319).

In the following discussion, I will attempt to assess the wealth of the households at Tel Beersheba Stratum II based on the criteria suggested by Smith: (1) the number of serving and hosting vessels and (2) the

degree of variation in the overall assemblage. Vessels that undoubtedly functioned in the serving (and hosting) of food are mainly small and medium-sized bowls and cups. Jugs were used in certain situations, although they also served other purposes such as storage and are therefore not taken into consideration here.

Table 1 shows the percentage of serving and hosting vessels in the pottery assemblages of several buildings on the tell. Clearly, there is no correlation between the overall size of the building, the number of pottery vessels in it, and the percentage of serving vessels within the assemblage. The percentage of serving vessels in Buildings 25, 75, and 812 is 10–11%, and 19–25% in Buildings 76, 956, 630, and 770. In Building 855, which contained 181 vessels over an area of 100 m^2, and in Building 1441, which contained 80 vessels over a small area of only 33 m^2, the percentage of serving vessels was the highest, 36% and 37%, respectively.

The variation of vessel types in the assemblages of the different building, that is to say the number of different types, regardless of vessel quantity, is relatively small, ranging between 14 and 22 different types. A different picture emerges from the small, nonpottery artifacts (see Table 1): while there were usually 7–15 different types of finds in the various buildings, Building 855 contained 23 different types of artifacts, a much larger variety than was seen in the other buildings. These data seem to suggest that Buildings 855 and 1441 "behave" differently. Building 1441 contains a relatively high percentage of serving vessels, but the variety of small finds is only slightly above average. Building 855 is exceptional in that both the relative number of serving vessels and the variety of small finds are greater than in other buildings; therefore, we can suggest that this was a wealthy household.

According to the criteria outlined above, it may be possible to define a small number of wealthier domestic buildings, for example Buildings 855 and 1441 in the center of the site. However, as a general rule, the socioeconomic differences noted between different groups of people within the population of Tel Beersheba, as reflected by household, were very small. It may be interesting to note that Sasson (2004: 75, 77, 145–148), based on the Stratum II distribution pattern of animal bones, reached the conclusion that there is no evidence for social hierarchy in Tel Beersheba.

Spatial Organization at Tel Beersheba

According to ethnographic models, cross-culturally the basic spatial organization of preindustrial cities is similar (Sjöberg 1965: 99–100; Kramer 1983). These cities are preplanned and include both government and domestic structures: they have "central" city squares or piazzas—not necessarily located in the city's geographical center—and government buildings situated close by. Near the latter are the houses of the wealthier inhabitants—the elite—whose social status is reinforced by their proximity to the exclusive area of the city. The buildings further from the "center" belong to the poorer classes who have been relegated to the city's edges. The elite, usually 5–10% of the population, comprises a limited number of families and does not partake in physical labor. The occupations of most of the poorer segments of the population are in agriculture and crafts, with crafts workshops integrated into their dwellings. In general, the open or public areas, i.e., city squares (piazzas), streets, and alleys, as opposed to the built-up and roofed areas, take up 10–20% of the city's area. This measure stands in contrast to villages, where the open/public areas constitute ca. 30–50% of the village.

Can this model of urban spatial organization be seen at Tel Beersheba? In Stratum II there is a number of public buildings that housed both economic and administrative functions, which served the inhabitants of the city. These buildings are located near the "central" city square; one of them (the "Basement Building") is located in the Central Quarter, inside the peripheral street. These public buildings are different from the domestic buildings in plan, in the effort invested in their construction, and in the spatial distribution of the finds found within them. The entire area given over to public buildings (the city gate, the storehouses, the water system, the "Governor's Palace," the "Basement Building," and the above-discussed "guesthouse") reaches some 2500 m^2 (ca. 25% of the city area). The open public areas (the city square and the streets) reach some 1100 m^2 (ca. 10% of the city's area). The total area of the domestic quarters (of all types of structures) is ca. 6500 m^2 (ca. 65% of the city area). This allotment of areas in the planning of the settlement probably indicates social stratification (Gibbon 1984: 150).

Since the town of Tel Beersheba Stratum II was preplanned and restricted in area, and the size of the dwelling units was limited,

it can be assumed that the family structure was nuclear[8] and buildings could not be enlarged to adapt to the needs of an extended family. As observed elsewhere, in certain cases, when an extended family occupies several separate yet adjoining dwelling units, the courtyard, at least, is shared. This phenomenon, however, was not observed at Tel Beersheba.

In most of the residential quarters, a similar pattern of production and consumption activities was discerned. Although some of the residential buildings are relatively large, in some cases the building size was determined not by the status of the building's inhabitants but by the layout of the street. In Building 76 in the Western Quarter, which is also a residential building, in addition to the usual domestic activities, there is evidence for craft specialization in the form of pottery production. The house of a craftsman is further proof that the occupants of this part of the city were of the lower classes.[9] In light of the fact that many artifacts of iron, bone, and stone were recovered in Stratum II, it is possible that the workshops of other artisans, such as blacksmiths, stone masons, leather tanners, and bone carvers were located in similar buildings. There is, however, no further evidence to support this. The three-room buildings in the Northern Quarter, defined here as domestic consumption units, may have been allotted to the military. It is possible that there was a population turnover here, and that, consequently, the usual activities of domestic production were not performed.

Conclusion

To summarize, focusing on the domestic buildings at Tel Beersheba Stratum II and analyzing the spatial distribution of the finds found in these structures enabled me to reconstruct some of the activities that took place in these houses and to respond to the research questions that were posed.

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[8] For the differences in family structure between the city and the village, see Faust 1999a.

[9] According to ethnoarchaeological studies, the social status of male potters was low because of their low income (Arnold 1985: 196–198).

1. It was possible to differentiate between households that functioned as consumption and production units, which were identified with family dwellings, and households that accommodated only consumption activities, whose inhabitants were not necessarily families.
2. The location of productive activities like grinding grain, preparing food, cooking, spinning, and weaving—all of which are presumed female activities—could be detected in the houses. Presumed male activity areas were harder to identify.
3. Based on the finds, it was possible to define a small number of wealthier domestic buildings—e.g., Buildings 855 and 1441 in the center of the settlement. However, as a general rule, only slight socioeconomic differences were observed between the domestic buildings and therefore among the population of the settlement.

THE EMPIRE IN THE HOUSE, THE HOUSE IN THE EMPIRE: TOWARD A HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY PERSPECTIVE ON THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE IN THE LEVANT

Virginia Rimmer Herrmann

The expansion of the Neo-Assyrian Empire throughout a large part of the Near Eastern world in the ninth to seventh centuries BCE is widely considered to have been a transformative epoch in the history of the region, profoundly altering its political and cultural landscape and ushering in an "Age of Empires." The contrasting images of the *pax Assyriaca*, providing stability and enabling exchange, and of the destructions, deaths, and deportations vividly portrayed in Assyrian royal inscriptions and in the Hebrew Bible both contribute to this picture of sweeping change. In the past few decades, studies of regional settlement patterns in imperial provinces have succeeded in documenting the major demographic shifts brought about by the Assyrian Empire, and the excavation of Assyrian period sites throughout the region has increased dramatically. From the extant archaeological evidence, however, one would still be hard pressed to answer the question of whether and in what ways incorporation into the Assyrian Empire was transformative on the level of provincial subjects' daily social and economic lives, and whether such transformations were imposed from above or emerged from below, despite the fact that this is a crucial element of the prevailing macromodels of imperial rule. Progress toward the resolution of this question will require the contextual and chronological detail offered by household archaeology, as has been demonstrated by several investigations of New World empires. This paper thus advocates a new emphasis on the careful investigation and analysis of ordinary domestic structures in Assyrian imperial provinces, aiming to identify changes and continuities in the domestic economies and social organization of its subjects. Such a program of household archaeology is planned for the new excavations of the University of Chicago at Sam'al (Zincirli Höyük), the capital of a small Syro-Hittite Kingdom that became an Assyrian province in the late eighth century BCE.

The Nature of Assyrian Rule

One of the major issues in the study of ancient empires has long been the question of the fundamental motivation for their expansion into and consolidation of new territories. The "basic philosophical differences" regarding this topic identified by Robert McC. Adams at a late 1907s symposium on ancient empires (1979: 400) still persist today.

On the one hand, there is a basically materialist viewpoint, according to which the motivation of resource acquisition underlies all imperial ideology and action, and imperialism is but one mechanism of interregional economic exploitation. This perspective has been articulated frequently as the core/center-periphery or world-systems model (derived from Wallerstein 1974), which predicts simultaneous economic development of the core polity and underdevelopment of peripheral areas (e.g., Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Smith 1995). On the other side, are those who grant imperial ideology and social structure primacy over the principle of economic maximization in determining ancient imperial activities, and see economic transfers as means to political ends, rather than ends in themselves (e.g., Kemp 1978, 1997; Finley 1978; Eisenstadt 1979; Schloen 2001). This viewpoint is skeptical of the notion of a systematic, long-term drain of wealth from the periphery to the imperial center and points to the often hefty debit side of the "imperial balance sheet" as evidence for economically "irrational" behavior. The most systematic expression of this more Weberian approach that emphasizes the culturally mediated motivations of different types of social actors is, perhaps, the "patrimonial/bureaucratic" imperial typology of the sociologist Eisenstadt (1979).[1] Recently, core-periphery and world-systems models have also been criticized from a post-colonial perspective for their centrist bias, whereby all change is initiated by the empire and "all power and control emanat[e] from the imperial core," denying imperial subjects any agency to shape events (Sinopoli 2001: 465; cf. Webster 1996; Alcock 1997; Schreiber 2006).

[1] Eisenstadt makes a fundamental distinction between "patrimonial kingdoms," which had "few symbolic and institutional differences between the center and periphery," and "Imperial" bureaucratic regimes, such as China or Byzantium, which were characterized by "a high level of distinctiveness of the center" and a self-conscious "Great Tradition" (1979: 22–25).

Along these lines, a few studies of the Neo-Assyrian Empire have countered the notion of systematic economic "policies" toward imperial territories that is often implied by proponents of the core-periphery perspective, citing the inconsistency of Assyrian treatment of the economic base of different regions, and arguing that strategic and military concerns provide a better explanation for this (Na'aman 2003; Master 2003). In this view, increases in trade and market activity are better understood as responses to the new political stability and the opening of new markets than to deliberate Assyrian efforts (Mazzoni 2000; Na'aman 2003; Master 2003). Another perspective cites the "consensus to empire" of many individuals and groups across the Assyrian realm (Lanfranchi 1997) and focuses on the socially integrative elements (in particular, an imperial elite identity, the Aramaic language, and the imperial army) that held the empire together and transformed its society (Lumsden 2001). In this view, new divisions were created among people in the Assyrian Empire, but these were not between center and periphery.

These exceptions notwithstanding, the core-periphery viewpoint has become almost the conventional wisdom in the literature on the Neo-Assyrian Empire. The majority of scholars of the past few decades attribute the expansion of the empire to a desire to control natural resources and trade routes (e.g., Jankowska 1969; Oded 1974; Larsen 1979; Winter 1983; Grayson 1995). Gitin (1997) and Allen (1997), who espouse world-systems theory, and Parker (2001), who invokes the territorial-hegemonic model of empire,[2] argue that their survey and excavations at the periphery of the empire show that Assyrian imperial authorities selectively transformed their territories so as to extract the maximum revenues from them, and their work and conclusions are widely cited by historians (e.g., Halpern 1991; Fales 2001; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; van de Mieroop 2003; Parpola 2003). In regions where Assyrian control was indirect (client kingdoms), the pressure to supply tribute to the Assyrian king is often credited with spurring widespread economic rationalizations, including the adoption of a

[2] The territorial-hegemonic model was developed originally by Luttwak for the Roman Empire (1976), but later developed and modified by Hassig (1985) and D'Altroy (1992) for the Aztec and Inca Empires, respectively. In the territorial-hegemonic model, the intensity of imperial control in different parts of an empire varies along a continuum from complete territorial control and annexation to political hegemony and influence, according to an imperial calculation of the economic and strategic benefits to be derived versus the costs of increased control (D'Altroy 1992: 19–20).

market economy (Frankenstein 1979; Olivier 1994; Byrne 2003; Routledge 2004).

This trend in the study of the Assyrian Empire has had the salutary effect of diverting attention away from the palaces and temples of the imperial capitals and toward social and economic questions and the study of the imperial periphery, but its conclusions deserve further interrogation. Thirty years ago, Adams issued a challenge to archaeologists to attempt to test the claim by advocates of the core-periphery model of simultaneous economic development of the imperial center and underdevelopment of the periphery for the Assyrian Empire in particular. He suggested that archaeologists actively investigate the following questions:

> [H]ow did demographic and economic trends in the Assyrian heartland compare or contrast with those in the conquered territories, and what do those trends tell us of the aggregate flows of wealth from one to another?…to what extent [was] the Assyrian economy and quality of life[ ]transformed as a result of successive phases of external conquest? (Adams 1979: 396–397)

The study of trends in the regional settlement patterns of the Assyrian Empire, one key to answering Adams' questions, has progressed a great deal since 1979 and has identified real, and sometimes dramatic, demographic trends in its territories, at least some of which can confidently be attributed to imperial actions. Regional surveys in the extended "heartland" of Assyria (the Jezirah of northern Syria and Iraq and the Upper Tigris River Valley in southeastern Turkey) show a striking increase in the number and geographical spread of small sites during the Late Iron Age (e.g., Bernbeck 1993; Wilkinson 1995; Morandi Bonacossi 1996; Wilkinson and Barbanes 2000; Parker 2001). This is surely in part to be attributed to the settlement of large numbers of deportees from other parts of the empire in small farming villages in these areas, often interpreted as the creation of a breadbasket for Assyrian cities (e.g., Wilkinson 1995; Morandi Bonacossi 2000; Parker 2001; Wilkinson et al. 2005). Without more intensive study of these small settlements, however, there is not enough evidence to say whether or not agricultural surpluses were being siphoned off in great quantities to regional centers and imperial capitals, or whether heavy taxes and corvée requirements led to impoverishment and a lower standard of living for the inhabitants of these settlements. It has been argued that at least some of this new settlement could have emerged organically from the sedentarization of mobile populations and the dispersal of

the inhabitants of nucleated settlements due to the new peace brought by the empire (Wilkinson and Barbanes 2000); the lack of a refined pottery chronology for the Jezirah also adds uncertainty to the attribution of increases in settlement to Assyrian imperial policies.

The same problem in pottery chronology applies to the provinces of the northern Levant (Lebanon, western Syria, and South-central Turkey) (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 368), where regional surveys have generally shown increases in small settlements in the later Iron Age, though this is less dramatic than in the Jezirah (reviewed in Wilkinson et al. 2005). There is currently not enough evidence to confirm the frequent assumption that this region was composed of "provincial and impoverished backwaters" (Hawkins 1982: 425) in the Neo-Assyrian period, as is often assumed (e.g., Diakonoff 1969: 29; Winter 1983: 194; Grayson 1995: 967).[3] In the very well-documented southern Levant (Israel, Palestine, and Jordan), by contrast, there is much evidence for the destructions and deportations that accompanied Assyrian conquest, and for the demographic recovery and even flourishing of some areas under Assyrian rule, while other areas remained relatively depopulated (Na'aman 1993). The settlement pattern in the southern Levant has been attributed by some to the deliberate development by the Assyrians of economically productive areas for imperial profit and the abandonment of less productive areas (Gitin 1997; Allen 1997), but it has been just as plausibly attributed to strategic and military concerns in a volatile border region by others (Na'aman 2003; Master 2003).

In order to engage fully the question of the impact of Assyrian imperial incorporation on subject populations, the broad brush of regional survey must be complemented by investigations with the finer spatial and diachronic resolution provided by the methodologies of household archaeology. Careful, contextual excavation or surface survey of households, large and small, in different kinds of settlements across the empire, can produce evidence for potential changes in prosperity among different social and ethnic groups, testing the frequent assumption of the economic exploitation of peripheral populations.

[3] Recent publications of excavations of Iron Age II–III sites in the northern Levant demonstrate a variability in the fortunes of these settlements after Assyrian incorporation similar to that found in the southern Levant, ranging from abandonment (e.g., Tell ʿAcharneh, Cooper and Fortin 2004) or depopulation (e.g., Tell Mishrifeh, Morandi Bonacossi 2009) to continuity (e.g., Tell Tuqan, Baffi 2006, 2008) or flourishing (e.g., Tell Afis, Soldi 2009; Tille Höyük, Blaylock 2009).

This kind of investigation can also identify the potential development of economic rationalizations (such as specialization, intensification and market participation) and can provide evidence for the impetus behind them, whether top-down (imperially sponsored) or bottom-up (locally initiated).

While there has been a substantial increase in the last few decades in the number of Neo-Assyrian period houses, large and small, excavated at provincial sites and even in the Assyrian capitals,[4] analysis at the level of the household has so far been largely lacking for the Assyrian Empire, with a few exceptions, such as the investigation and comparison of both lower- and higher-status houses (including micro-archaeological analyses) at Ziyaret Tepe (Matney and Rainville 2005) and the study of activity areas in an elite household at Tell Ahmar (Jamieson 2000). Domestic areas at Neo-Assyrian period sites have rarely been approached from the standpoint of identifying trends in domestic economy and social organization accompanying imperial incorporation, however.[5]

Household Archaeology and Empire

The study of empires may have a problem of scale, as the spatial extent and quantity of data related to an empire become almost too large for an individual to handle and the complexity of the phenomenon becomes too great to be described adequately by general models and typologies (Sinopoli 2001: 447–448), but it is now almost a commonplace that issues of societal or interregional scope must be approached

[4] E.g., Nineveh (Lumsden 1991); Aššur (Miglus 2000, 2002); Ziyaret Tepe (Matney et al. 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006); Tell Sheikh Hamad (Kühne 1989–1990, 1993–1994, 1994); Tell Ahmar (Bunnens 1999); Tille Höyük (Summers 1991; Blaylock 2009); Lidar Höyük (Müller 1999); Tell Afis (Mazzoni 1987, 2008); Tell Kazel (Capet and Gubel 2000); and Tel Miqne-Ekron (Gitin 1989).

[5] An important exception is the comparison by Parker (2003) of the domestic economy of excavated houses at the pre-Assyrian Early Iron Age settlement of Kenan Tepe in the Upper Tigris River Valley with that of a partially excavated house at the Assyrian imperial period "colonial" settlement of Boztepe in the same region. His conclusion from the faunal data and evidence for metal and ceramic production was that Assyrian imperial period households had more specialized economies than pre-imperial ones, due to Assyrian demands and imperial monopolization of the ceramic and metal industries and the herding of sheep, goat, and cattle. The sample size of the later site is quite small (Parker 2003: 539), however, so these conclusions must be considered quite tentative.

archaeologically from multiple scales (e.g., Lightfoot et al. 1998; Stein 2002: 907), including the fine scale of the individual household and the activities that take place within it. There is a growing recognition, too, that the daily practices carried out in households can be the site of the most fundamental effects of profound political transformations, such as incorporation into a transregional empire, as well as the locus of response to these changes (Lightfoot et al. 1998; Wattenmaker 1998; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001; Rainville 2005; Sinopoli 2001: 448; Stein 2002).

The mélange of imposition and opportunity, violence, and stability that accompanies incorporation into an empire inevitably alters the spectrum of choices available to its subjects in the mundane routines of household life. Changes in political economy have the potential to modify the material and labor demands on subject households, access to resources, and household task scheduling, while shifts in the political center can lead to new expressions of status and identity, and the institutions and enlarged borders of an empire can open new social and economic doors for some, while closing them off for others (Sinopoli 1994, 2001). Changing patterns in the debris of these household activities and in the structure and integration of houses can inform us about the impact of imperial incorporation on household production and consumption, economic and social relations between households, and the division of labor and allocation of status within the household. This evidence of the constraints and opportunities presented by an empire to subject households in turn provides a window into how that empire works, the goals of its leaders, the extent to which its propagandistic and ideological claims are enacted on the ground, and how much it involves itself in local affairs. At the same time, the local scale of household archaeology, allowing a focus on the context of actions and intrasocietal diversity, can redress the top-down biases of macromodels of empire by making space for the agency of imperial subjects and their potential to respond to changing conditions in varied ways.

In recent years, several studies of households in New World empires have illustrated the potential of a household archaeology approach to produce evidence of the real consequences of these empires for the daily lives of their subjects, and provide a new understanding of the empires themselves. Brumfiel's intensive surface surveys of several sites in Mexico under Aztec hegemony have found evidence of intensification and specialization in women's household craft and food production in certain regions, which she attributes both to increased

tribute demands and increased market participation (1991). She has also noted changes in the labor intensity of food preparation and in the foods consumed, as more portable foods were necessary for laborers working far from home on state projects (1991), and a decline in the status displays of local elites through decorated serving vessels, as local competition waned with imperial centralization of power (1987). The excavations and surface surveys of the Upper Mantaro Archaeological Research Project in Peru have produced studies of changes and continuities in the architecture, agropastoral production, diet, craft production and consumption, technology, and elite-commoner relations of households in a region that fell under the Inca Empire, with results that often contradicted the investigators' expectations and produced new insights into the nature, goals, and activities of that empire (Costin et al. 1989; Hastorf and Johannessen 1993; D'Altroy and Hastorf 2001). At sites in the Spanish-American Empire, detailed contextual studies of households have shown how intermarriages between Spanish men and Native American women created a creolized culture reflected in the mix of European and American material culture in different spheres of household life, while in other cases the adoption of European material culture followed class, rather than ethnic lines (Deagan 1998, 2001). Studies such as these, combining detailed analyses of artifact and ecofact patterning on a small scale with a comparative approach that identifies trends at an imperial scale, show how it is possible to approach fundamental questions about these early empires that have too long remained unaddressed, but from an analytical level that is appropriate to an agent-oriented perspective.

Household Archaeology on Assyria's Northwestern Periphery

From its beginnings in 2006, a major goal of the new excavations at Zincirli Höyük (ancient Sam'al) in southern Turkey by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Schloen and Fink 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c) has been the excavation of an extensive area of the city's lower town, which was left nearly untouched by the German expeditions of more than a century ago (von Luschan et al. 1893; von Luschan et al. 1898; von Luschan 1902; von Luschan and Jacoby 1911; von Luschan and Andrae 1943; cf. Wartke 2005), with the intention of exposing a substantial expanse of domestic architecture for the first time at this site (Fig. 1). The large lower town of this 40 ha site was

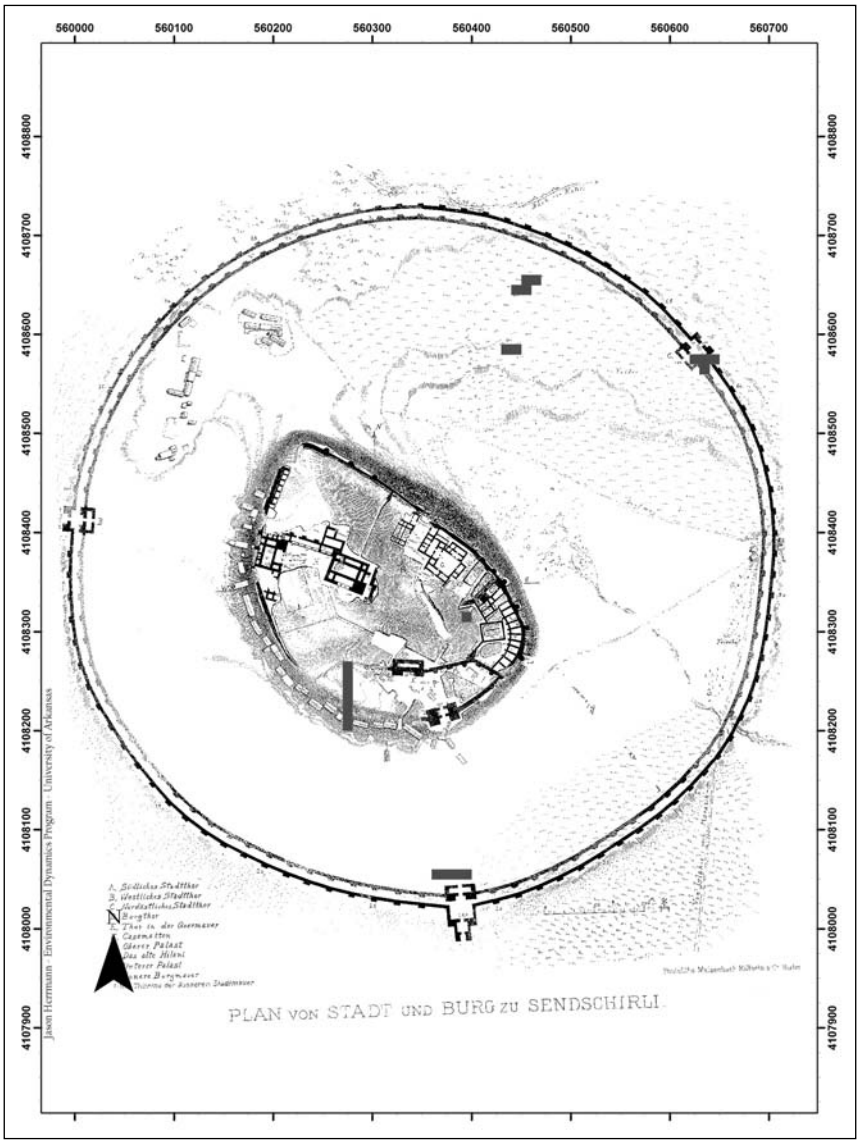


Figure 1. Plan of Iron Age remains at Sam'al (modern Zincirli Höyük) excavated by German archaeologists in the late nineteenth century (drawn by Robert Koldewey in 1894; from von Luschan et al. 1898: Tafel XXIX). Dark gray blocks represent the 2006–2008 excavation areas of the University of Chicago Expedition.

first occupied during the earlier part of the Iron Age II, when the city of Sam'al was the royal seat of Y'DY, a small Syro-Hittite Kingdom ruled by a West-Semitic-speaking dynasty. Although the citadel mound continued to be occupied as the seat of the Assyrian provincial governor after the kingdom came under Assyrian direct rule sometime in the late eighth century BCE, the fate of the lower town during the Assyrian period was unknown until the renewed investigations of the University of Chicago at the site, which were fairly quickly able to establish that the lower town continued to be inhabited under Assyrian rule in the seventh century and was never thereafter reoccupied. Consequently, the Assyrian period and earlier Iron Age II remains of the lower town are easily accessible beneath the modern surface, undisturbed by later occupation levels. This situation creates an excellent opportunity to investigate continuities and changes in domestic life between pre-Assyrian and Assyrian period levels and in this way to evaluate the fit of contrasting macromodels of Assyrian rule to this provincial city.

Any large-scale model of the way empires work is bound to be flawed, defeated by the complexity and diversity of these polities. Rather than abandon the attempt to understand broad historical processes, however, the contrasts between such models can be used as a heuristic tool in the interpretation of human-scale data. In order to bridge the inferential gap between these models of imperial scope and archaeological investigations of a necessarily more limited scale, though, it is necessary to tailor the research questions and methodologies of such a project very carefully. In order to assess the utility of the two models or perspectives on Assyrian rule broadly defined above, the *core-periphery* and its converse (called here the *patrimonial model*, after Eisenstadt 1979), by means of household archaeology, detailed sets of predictions for the domestic economy and social structure of provincial inhabitants that follow from the assumptions of each general model *and* can be expected to be detectable in the archaeological record must first be defined. These testable predictions should also incorporate what is known from the textual record of the economic organization of the Assyrian Empire (Postgate 1974, 1979; Grayson 1995) and in this case of the kingdom of Sam'al or Y'DY (Sader 1987: 177–178). The archaeological evidence will inevitably be less clear cut than we would like, but the creation of a heuristic framework such as this can help us to interpret the various trends displayed by the debris of domestic life in a potentially useful way.

Expectations of the Core-Periphery Model

The core-periphery model of empire posits an empire-wide, systematic rationalization of interference in imperial territories according to a principle of economic maximization. This is presumed to have worked to the benefit of the core population and to the detriment of the peripheral population. The key expectations of this model for the economy of the provinces are thus *intensification* (of production of craft and agricultural goods to meet heightened core demands), *integration* (greater individual and regional specialization, greater reliance on rations or the market for subsistence, less household and neighborhood self-sufficiency), and *impoverishment* (due to the increased material and labor demands of the state, the competitive advantage of Assyrian traders, and a decrease in access to productive resources) (cf. Parker's predictions for rural settlements in imperial provinces [2003: 553]; Matthews 2003: Table 5.1; Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001: 22–24, for the Inca Empire).

According to this model, the economic production of the city of Sam'al would be predicted to be targeted for development (cf. Gitin 1997: 83–84) by Assyrian administrators. Sam'al is strategically located with respect to mineral and timber resources, which we know from accounts of its tribute[6] were highly valued by the Assyrians, and lies in a fertile agricultural plain with plentiful pasture land. The agricultural and "industrial" production (of timber and metals in particular) of the city would be expected to have been regionally specialized and intensified for export (in order to generate revenue) or to supply the Assyrian army or garrison, while the countryside would have been used as a breadbasket to support Assyrian elite and military endeavors. The provincial government would hold a monopoly on metallurgy, timber processing and export, and perhaps even ceramic production and herding (Parker 2003: 553) and would strictly limit the access of local inhabitants to valuable raw materials. Taxes in kind and in labor on government agricultural, construction, and resource procurement projects (as *ilku* service) would be harsh.

[6] Received from Hayanu of Y'DY by Shalmaneser III in 857 BC: 10 talents of silver, 90 talents of copper, 30 talents of iron, 300 garments with multicolored fringe and linen garments, 300 cattle, 3000 sheep, 200 cedar trunks, 2 homers of cedar resin, and his daughter with her dowry. Annual tribute: 10 minas of silver, 100 cedar trunks, and 1 homer of cedar resin (Sader 1987: 153–154).

In the archaeological record of Zincirli/Samʾal, concomitant with intensification, specialization, and government monopoly, one would expect to find evidence for more concentrated, larger-scale ("factory") production and storage of agricultural and craft goods, such as grain, metals, ceramics, textiles, hides, and timber, probably connected in some way with Assyrian public buildings or with evidence for imperial control. At the same time, one might expect to see a sharp reduction in evidence for several types of small-scale craft production in households and dispersed workshops compared with the pre-Assyrian period. As urban inhabitants became more dependent on the state for their subsistence, relying on rations (in the case of "commoners") or rural estates (in the case of elites), and less self-sufficient, with reduced access to productive resources, evidence for agricultural activities and processing (in the form of grain storage vessels and installations, processing debris, and agricultural implements) in the household would also decrease compared with the pre-Assyrian period.

The onerous labor and produce taxes imposed by the Assyrian administration would engender a general impoverishment of provincial inhabitants. This might be reflected by a decrease in the size and quality of domestic architecture, with a reduced use of timber in construction, as access to this resource was restricted. The average diet might decline in quality, as reflected in botanical and faunal remains, with less variety of plants and animals and particularly less, or poorer-quality meat, due to government monopolies on herds and intensification and specialization in crop production. Vessels for cooking and serving might even change to accommodate less time-consuming or more portable foods, as more time was spent by household members away from the home performing state service (Brumfiel 1991). Access to craft goods and status items might also be limited, as is reflected in the small finds associated with commoner households. Assyria's commercial interests would dictate that evidence for trade connections in the form of imported artifacts would narrow to a main line with the Assyrian heartland, rather than reflecting trade with Phoenicia, Egypt, Cyprus, or Anatolia.

Finally, one would expect that before Assyrian incorporation, the residential areas of the city would have been organized into neighborhoods integrated by kinship and patronage networks, containing some shared facilities and consisting of households of various sizes, including a number of extended families (Stone and Zimansky 1992; Schloen 2001). The interests of the Assyrian government in higher tax revenues and labor efficiency (Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001: 23; Galil 2007: 347),

however, and the increased reliance of provincial inhabitants on the state, rather than on their traditional networks, for subsistence, would predict a reorganization of these neighborhoods into smaller, nuclear-family households (reflected in house size and installations) without obvious spatial or economic interconnection. In some parts of the city, though, one would expect a replacement of earlier neighborhoods by the large houses in imperial Assyrian style of Assyrian officials, compensated for their office and rewarded for their loyalty by large provincial landholdings and clustering in the provincial capital (Postgate 1979: 216).

Expectations of the Patrimonial Model

If we instead adopt a perspective that takes seriously the ideological statements of the Assyrian kings, we should not necessarily expect to see a geographically dichotomous drain of material benefits from the peripheral provinces to the core provinces, but rather that different social groups benefited or suffered across the empire. For, after the depredations of conquest, every newly incorporated province was on equal symbolic footing as part of the "Land of Assur" (as opposed to the client states, which constituted the "yoke of Assur") (Postgate 1992), regardless of its proximity to the Assyrian core or the ethnicity of its inhabitants. It certainly "paid" to be on the side of the king of Assyria, but there were individuals and groups across the empire who took advantage of the opportunities for advancement presented by the imperial administration and army, sometimes at the expense of the king's rivals in Assyria (Lanfranchi 1997; Lumsden 2001).

In Eisenstadt's model of "patrimonial" versus "bureaucratic" empires, the expansion of a patrimonial empire such as Assyria would be accompanied by relatively little deliberate restructuring of its peripheral territories. Patrimonial kingdoms would intrude on "local…communities mainly in the form of administration of law, attempts to maintain peace, exaction of taxation and the maintenance of some cultural and/or religious links to the center" (Eisenstadt 1979: 23), and "insofar as the rulers of these regimes engaged in more active economic policies…these were first…mostly of expansive character—i.e., aiming at expansion of control of large territories, rather than intrinsic ones—i.e., characterized by intensive exploitation of a fixed resource basis" (Eisenstadt 1979: 24).

According to this perspective, then, we should expect to find only a fairly superficial, rather than thoroughgoing, restructuring of the provincial capital Sam'al, concentrated mainly in the citadel, in contrast to the intensive, calculated exploitation expected by the core-periphery model. The inhabitants of the province would now be subject to the authority, as well as the protection of the Assyrian king, and we should find Assyrian expropriations no more punitive or innovative in this peripheral province than they were in the imperial heartland. The expectation of the patrimonial model for Sam'al is thus one of fundamental *continuity* in household economic practices and social structure.

Such social and economic continuity should be reflected in a higher degree of continuity in the archaeological record of the site between the pre-Assyrian and Assyrian provincial periods, particularly in the urban plan and the location and scale of the evidence for productive activities. Most craft production would still take the form of household cottage industry or small workshops, even when performed part of the time at the behest of the administration or the army, and most households would still be self-sufficient in agricultural production. Access to natural resources would have remained a mixture of state controlled and private or communal, though through the greater labor power that it was able to command and the reduction in hostilities between neighboring regions, the empire might have opened up new natural resources and lands for imperial exploitation (Costin 1998b; Wilkinson et al. 2005). Though there must have been occasional extraordinary musters of labor and goods for the activities of the army, general levels of taxation in produce and labor would not have drastically increased from their pre-Assyrian levels in the kingdom of Sam'al. One would not, therefore, expect to find evidence for a general impoverishment of the non-Assyrian population, as reflected in the evidence for diet, domestic architecture, and consumption of craft and trade goods, though the fortunes of individual households might have gone up or down, depending on their place in the new political order. Trade in general would have been encouraged as a source of imperial revenue (from gate, harbor, and ferry tariffs), without favoring ethnically Assyrian merchants or products from Assyria (Radner 1999). Kinship and neighborhood networks would still be evident in residential patterns, and we might even see the formation of larger households as an attempt to lessen tax and labor duties (Hastorf and D'Altroy 2001: 23).

Two contrasting aspects of the nature of empires, however, would ensure that this basic continuity was not total. First, the devastations and deportations that the Assyrians carried out in many parts of the empire would have had a long-term impact in some areas, as their economic and demographic base was severely damaged. At a site that was destroyed and rebuilt and whose population was deported and replaced with other deportees, we would expect certain changes in domestic economies and neighborhood structure, as the newcomers would be more reliant on the state for their livelihood. We know nothing of the circumstances of Samʾal's transition from the status of client kingdom to Assyrian province, but it seems to have occurred peacefully sometime in the 720s BCE (Landsberger 1948: 77; Hawkins 1982: 415–416), as there is no textual or archaeological evidence for the destruction of the site or the deportation of its inhabitants. The lack of a destruction layer ushering in Assyrian direct rule at Zincirli and the level of preservation and clear chronological horizon it would provide have the disadvantage of making chronological and functional interpretations more challenging at this site. This is also, in a way, an advantage for an investigation of economic and social transformations caused by Assyrian administration, however, because it removes the factors of drastic disruptions, such as destructions and deportations, as possible sources for any changes that are evident and allows us to focus on the impact of Assyrian policies and attitudes instead.

Following the violence of conquest, incorporation into the Assyrian Empire brought an imposed peace with neighboring regions and internal stability that may have fostered economic prosperity, and presented new opportunities for production and trade (Eisenstadt 1979; Mazzoni 2000; Naʾaman 2003). According to the inscriptions of its rulers, the kingdom of Samʾal/YʿDY had been plagued with internecine violence during the early eighth century BCE that had a disruptive and negative effect on the local economy. The inscriptions of the two last known rulers of Samʾal, Panamuwa II and Bar-Rakib, loyal Assyrian vassals appointed by Tiglath-Pileser III, boast of prosperity restored to Samʾal during their reigns (Tropper 1993). We do not know if this prosperity was general or restricted to followers of these kings, but it may have persisted for many years after the apparently seamless transition to Assyrian direct rule. Furthermore, by increasing interactions among strangers (Bloch and Parry 1989), some of the effects of political unification under the Assyrian Empire, such as an increase in trade and communications created by stability and the opening of new markets,

the reshuffling of landholdings, and the disruption of traditional local aristocracies, could have had the unintended consequence of creating the conditions for a greater degree of differentiation and depersonalization in economic and social life (Eisenstadt 1979: 26–27).

For this reason, one might expect to find certain changes in the households of Zincirli that do not imply imperial sponsorship, but are instead indicative of "bottom-up" processes of change (initiated by imperial subjects in response to changed conditions) that could include a measure of economic rationalization. An increase in interregional trade contacts with the expansion of economic networks and the opening of new trade routes and opportunities in a context of regional stability might be reflected in an increase in imported items and external stylistic influence from numerous sources within and without the empire, not only Assyria. With new markets and opportunities, we might also see an increase in economic specialization at a *decentralized, dispersed household level*, reflected both in changes in the evidence for craft and agricultural production in the household, and in an increase in the standardization of crafts not highly valued by imperial authorities, such as commonware ceramics, figurines, and amulets (Sinopoli and Morrison 1995; Lehmann 1998). Though these increases in specialization and economic integration are superficially similar to the predictions of the core-periphery model, the locations and types of materials in which these changes would appear would clearly distinguish them from state-sponsored initiatives.

Conclusion

The contrasts between the expectations of these two models of the Assyrian Empire for the fate of the inhabitants of the province of Sam'al may be somewhat overdrawn here for heuristic purposes, and the archaeological data will surely offer ambiguities, but looking at the domestic remains of Zincirli's lower town with these alternatives in mind can be a useful way of approaching the transition from pre-imperial to imperial rule at this site.

In the new excavations at Zincirli by the University of Chicago, an area of 400 m^2 that included domestic remains was excavated just inside the southern city gate (Area 4) in 2007, and in 2008, a 450 m^2 area in the northern lower town (Area 5) was selected for excavation based on the indications from a magnetometry survey of the lower town that

the area would span several smaller buildings (assumed to be small houses) and part of one larger building (assumed to be a larger, courtyard-centered house). The Area 5 buildings do seem to be domestic in nature, containing domestic items such as grindstones, spindle whorls, and loom weights, as well as installations such as ovens and mortars, and are stratified in two to three subphases from the seventh century back at least to the early eighth century BCE. One of the buildings housed the mortuary cult of a royal official named KTMW during the mid- to late eighth century BCE, as evidenced by the inscribed mortuary stele recovered there *in situ*, though it later changed function when the mortuary cult ceased (Struble and Herrmann 2009). There is a high degree of architectural continuity between the phases of Area 5 across the transition to Assyrian direct rule, but the analysis of activity areas in order to identify trends in the domestic economy is still ongoing. Area 5 will be doubled in size in 2009 and further expanded in future seasons in order to obtain a large data set and seek evidence of variability between households as well as over time. Future publications will detail the results of this long-term project.

In addition to standard excavation practices, a program of sampling for microartifact analysis and soil chemistry analysis (by means of ICP-AES) of living surfaces and installations in the lower-town excavation areas was initiated in the 2008 season. These kinds of microanalyses are becoming increasingly important in archaeological studies of households and can provide evidence for the presence, location, and intensity of different kinds of craft and food production, as well as traffic patterns and cleaning habits, supplementing inferences drawn from architecture, installations and (macro)artifacts (Sherwood et al. 1995; Middleton and Price 1996; Wells 2004; Rainville 2005; Özbal 2006; Barba 2007). Densities of microscopic materials indicative of different kinds of activities can then be compared between different phases and rebuildings of the lower-town architecture in order to identify changes and continuities in household practices.

Ideally, the application of this approach to the new excavations at Zincirli will provide an example of the potential of household archaeology for the study of broader issues in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. If this kind of investigation is adopted more widely, the results of this project will eventually be able to be compared with those from sites in different parts of the empire, from the Assyrian heartland to its provinces in the Jezirah, the southern Levant, southeastern Anatolia, and Babylonia, enabling an exploration of the extent to which inhabitants

of the core and the periphery had different experiences of the empire and how local histories and conditions might have affected these experiences.

The methods and questions of household archaeology can play an important role in the effort to better understand one of the key issues in the study of the Assyrian Empire and ancient empires in general. Adams' "basic philosophical differences" must be put into concrete terms that can be tested, for the implications of these differences would certainly have had tangible consequences for ordinary households. A focus on households in imperial transition can also help redress the top-down disposition of much work on the Assyrian Empire by providing an agent-oriented perspective of the empire "from below."

CULT CORNERS IN THE AEGEAN AND THE LEVANT*

Louise A. Hitchcock

Introduction and Characteristics

The existence of cult corners is taken for granted at Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite sites. Although the origin of the term "cult corner" is obscure, it can be understood as a small area or part of an area in a larger building or courtyard, with or without a bench, and containing ritual objects that could accommodate two to three people (for example, Gilmour 1995: 216–217; Zevit 2001: 123 and *passim*; 2003: 233; Vriezen 2001: 54–55). Shiloh (1979) identified "cult corners" in residential locations. Dever (1987: 134–135) has observed that they gained popularity during the Solomonic period and retained many domestic functions. Zevit (2001: 123, 654) distinguishes between a dedicated cult room, which is small and either in or attached to a domestic private building, and a cult corner, which he regards as part of a room or courtyard used for cult activity in a building designed for other purposes. A cult corner can also be contrasted with a shrine, which is a small, freestanding structure that held images or symbols of a deity (cf. Zevit 2001: 123–124).

Both Gilmour (1995) and Zevit (2001: esp. 248–254, Chart 1) have examined this subject in the Levant extensively and systematically, documenting many examples. Gilmour (1995: 205, 214) distinguishes between industrial and domestic corners, and has observed that domestic cult corners are difficult to identify as they were sometimes represented by only one or two cultic items in an otherwise noncultic room; special architectural features might be absent; and the rooms might have been multifunctional. To make a case for identifying a cult corner based on the presence of just one or two artifacts, the cultic nature of the artifact must be compelling. However, identifying a cult corner in

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a domestic setting, where textual sources are silent, might indicate that the inhabitants were following popular or folk religion, rather than official religious belief and practice (Gilmour 1995: 214). Zevit notes (2001: 232, n. 180) that cult corners only provide information about their function at the time of destruction, as it is sometimes difficult to be certain of the initial or intended purpose of the room at the time of its construction from the way it appears at its final use. Information gleaned from cult corners in official buildings may aid in the identification of cult corners in domestic dwellings, where the evidence may be difficult to interpret; in addition, examining the evidence for cult corners in official buildings on Cyprus and the Aegean may serve to shed light on the identification of cult corners in households as they may provide further evidence for such features.

The types of artifacts found in Levantine cult corners can be summarized as including tubular vessel stands, offering stands, portable altars for incense or small offerings (Vriezen 2001: 54–55; Finkelstein et al. 2007: 177), standing stones, special vessels such as chalices, decorated drinking vessels such as kraters, libation vessels such as rhyta, food preparation tools, basins, worked animal bone, remains of food offerings, and other nonfunctional ceramics, as argued below (also Gilmour 1995: 214–218; Zevit 2001: 253–254). Nonfunctional objects might take the form of architectural models, rattles, notched scapulae, votive objects such as representations of food or figurines, and ritual foci such as altars or standing stones. Zevit (2001: 312–313) has suggested that altars or other ritual foci occurring in pairs in a small corner or room indicate the worship of a pair of deities. Architectural characteristics and special features of a cult corner might include partition walls or niches to delineate a space, platforms, benches, plastered surfaces, and a corner location in a room or courtyard for artifacts as at Megiddo Room 2081, which dates to the tenth century (Loud 1948: 45–46, Fig. 101; Kempinski 1989: 187; Zevit 2001: 220–225). In addition, cult corners may be located in a small space of a transitional area, such as gates as at eighth-century Bethsaida, and different parts of a gateway system as at Tel Dan[1] (as detailed in Zevit 2001: 149, 191–196, 240). Aniconism was also a feature of Levantine cult corners as seen at

[1] Standing stones are located outside the southern entrance, against the northern wall of the outer chamber of the gate, on a raised platform to the right of the entrance into the city, in a niche outside the southern gate, and outside the lower entrance to the city. They range in date from the ninth to the seventh centuries.

Bethsaida and Tel Dan (Zevit 2001: 240), where standing stones have been interpreted as nonrepresentational representations of deities.[2]

It is suggested here that the cult corner is a feature that is also at home in the Aegean and on Cyprus in both private domestic and public ritual contexts, and that the criteria used to identify cult corners in the Levant can help to identify similar features in neighboring cultures. Zevit (2001: 252–254) has commented on the existence of small cult rooms on Crete in the form of small, rural shrines dating from the end of the Bronze Age at Gazi (Marinatos 1937; Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1976: 255–256; 1985: 69, 71) as being part of a "pattern of Aegeo-Mediterranean cultic architecture." I hope to show that a tradition of cult corners also exists on Crete, extends as far back as the Early Bronze Age, and is widely attested in a range of contexts, domestic and official, public, and secluded.

The benefit of identifying cult corners in these regions is manifold. Applying the concept of the cult corner may aid in interpreting cult in a region where textual information is minimal or does not discuss household and/or popular cult.[3] In addition, undertaking an analysis of the features associated with cult corners in the eastern Mediterranean may add to the corpus of identifiable characteristics associated with them, which can aid in the future identification of cult corners in both domestic and official buildings. Architectural features that can already be readily identified in the Aegean and on Cyprus, which are comparable to features found in the Levant, include rooms with cupboards, or niches of small size; benches (Gesell 1985: 19–22; 41–46, and *passim*); corner locations in courtyards; and industrial associations. Similar categories of artifact type such as rhyta (Koehl 2006: 308) are also in evidence in the Aegean. Gesell (1985) typically identifies small rooms with benches as "bench sanctuaries," although she does not always apply the same rigor as Gilmour or Zevit in identifying such spaces as cultic. For example, she might give this designation to a tiny cupboard regardless of whether it is found in a domestic or official building, or to larger dedicated cult structures such as shrines and sanctuaries with multiple rooms. It is hoped that by recategorizing some architectural spaces as cult corners, it becomes possible to

[2] For an in depth view of aniconism and its various contextually determined interpretations, see Mettinger (1995) and Graesser (1972).

[3] The Minoan Linear A script remains undeciphered while Mycenaean Greek deals mainly with administrative texts (cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1956).

add greater clarity to the discussion of them as features that occur in houses, elite villas, and palaces. They can be contrasted with dedicated shrines in the Post-Palatial era (ca. 1190–1000 BCE or LMIIIC), which take the form of small, freestanding structures.[4] Additional artifacts associated with cultic rooms and corners in the Aegean include libation stones and tables, while additional features include centrality and other special orientations and elevations. Below is a preliminary list and description of probable cult corners on Cyprus and in the Aegean, organized by region, time period, site, and type. The list is not a comprehensive catalog, but represents examples and contexts from different periods, and which might serve as a point of departure for future research in the identification of cult corners.

Aegean

Myrtos-Fournou Korifi, Cult Corner

Myrtos-Fournou Korifi is an Early Bronze Age (ca. 2600–2200 BCE or EM IIA–B) settlement of the Pre-Palatial era in the third millennium located on the south coast of eastern Crete on a steep-sided slope overlooking the Libyan Sea and consisting of approximately one-hundred architectural spaces that include between three and six dwellings and communal activity areas (contrast Sanders 1990; Warren 1972; and Whitelaw 1983). The architecture is in a variable state of preservation and consisted of mudbrick walls built on a rubble socle. The most readily identifiable houses consist of a square central circulation area with a central support that was surrounded by smaller rooms along two sides of the largest room, giving rise to a plan that characterized the vernacular style of the following Minoan era (Hitchcock in press a). The stability and repetitive characteristics of this type of plan make it possible to reconstruct House A (Sanders 1990: 66, Fig. 5.8, 72, n. 9; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 50), a dwelling made up of rooms 84 and 89–92, which is the focus of the following discussion.

Although the complete plan of room 92 has been plausibly reconstructed based on its architectural similarities to an adjacent house,

[4] These are known on Crete at Gazi, Gournia, Karphi, Kavousi-Vronda, and Chalasmenos.

House B (Saunders 1990), it probably formed the main room of a house, leading to room 91, an oblong storage room. Room 92 contained a wide assortment of vase forms (Warren 1972: 87) including several amphorae, jars, bowls, a cooking pot, a couple of jugs, and one pithos. Room 91 was found crammed full with sixty-six vases, mainly fine ware (Sanders 1990: 66, Fig. 5.2). In addition, five of the vessel shapes found throughout the building are large, including a second pithos in room 89, another oblong storage room. A ritual vessel, the "Goddess of Myrtos," was found unbroken in room 92 at a height of 15 cm above the floor adjacent to a stone bench of roughly equivalent height, which rests against the eastern wall, and which probably functioned as a display altar for this vase. The "Goddess" (Warren 1972: 209) stands 21.1 cm in height with a hollow bell-shaped body for holding liquid, spindly arms holding a small jug, and a long, solid neck with facial features depicted on it. The only opening for filling the vessel is through the small jug held in her arms. The surface, including the molded breasts, is decorated with red paint and includes a painted triangle, which might be interpreted as the pubic area or covering of the pubic area. Warren (1972: 210) ruled out a purely practical function for this object, based on the long, thin neck, spindly arms, and pouring arrangement. He further cites the long, thin neck as evidence that it represented a deity as Early Minoan figurines of humans are rendered in "roughly correct proportions" (Warren 1972: 86). The "Goddess" might be seen as evidence for Minoan religious continuity from the Early Bronze Age onward.

As the largest, and thus probably the main room of House A, room 92 has been interpreted as a shrine by the excavator (Warren 1972: 85; also Gesell 1983: 93–94), who also interpreted room 91 as a storeroom for the shrine [92] that held vases connected with offerings. Warren compared this arrangement of space and artifacts to repositories of stone vessels found in the later Minoan "Palaces." Elsewhere I have posited a link between ritual activity and storage as a characteristic found in many buildings of the Late Bronze Age (cf. Hitchcock 2000, 1999), however, a strict comparison with the much larger palaces is inappropriate given the differences in scale. Scholars working in the region have been somewhat divided between assigning a purely domestic function to the dwelling (Whitelaw 1983; Sanders 1990: 72, n. 9) and following Warren in assigning a cultic function (cf. Gesell 1983, 1985: 114–116; Rutkowski 1986: 157–158). Indeed, Whitelaw observes that the figurine "may have had religious significance" (1983: 342, n. 10),

but other finds in the building point to a domestic assemblage. Identifying the area of the bench along the eastern wall of room 92 as a cult corner of a domestic dwelling allows us to sidestep the secular versus religious polarization that plagues much of Aegean archaeology. Although the "Goddess" is the only ritual object identified in this dwelling, it is distinctive for the reasons mentioned above. The eastern side of room 92 is more convincing as the cult corner of a dwelling rather than as a town shrine.

In addition, not all of the benched rooms that Gesell (1985: 114) identifies as bench shrines at Myrtos are convincing as they are lacking in requisite finds; however, it is possible to see a series of side chambers in nearby House A as another cult corner, based on fragments of a human skull and a human figurine found there.

Chamaizi, Probable Cult Corner

Chamaizi is the site of a large (for the period), multiroomed dwelling of the Proto-Palatial period situated on the top of a steep, pointed hill, 501 m in height in northeastern Crete, about 7.5 km from the city of Sitia and affording a strategic view of the bay of Sitia (Davaras 1992: 78). It was built in Middle Minoan IA (ca. 1900 BCE) over earlier structures of the Early Bronze Age. The unusual plan, hilltop location, and mixed character of the finds from this structure have been a matter of some debate among archaeologists. It has been described as round, but is more properly designated as ovoid or elliptical with a squarish corner on the southwest, an unusual form for a Minoan house (cf. Dinsmoor 1973: 6). Scholarly consensus now agrees that the builders were taking advantage of the topography, extending the outer walls of the house close to the edge of the similarly shaped hilltop (e.g., Davaras 1972). The building has a radial plan and is composed of approximately sixteen rooms organized around a small (ca. 3 m × 3 m), paved central court dominated by a cistern in its northeastern corner (see Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 74, Fig. 41). Only the stone foundations are preserved. The structure is divided into two unequal parts that are joined by the court: a smaller four-roomed part on the west, which includes a staircase to an upper floor, and a larger ten-roomed part on the east. The hilltop location and cultic character of some of the finds have led some scholars to argue that Chamaizi was a peak sanctuary or high place (discussed in Watrous 1994: 721); Davaras (1993) emphasizes

its strategic location; Marinatos (1993: 112–114) believes it was the dwelling of a local elite based on its size and elaborate features; and Mackenzie (1907–1908: 411–422) interprets it as a simple farmhouse that prefigures the palaces.

Minoan religion tended to focus primarily on mountain peaks and caves, which began as popular extra-urban sanctuaries with little to nothing in the way of architectural remains. Some of them became more formalized in the period of the second Minoan "palaces" (ca. 1700–1490/50 BCE) when they came under palatial control, but their architecture remained fairly simple and might include a built altar, horns of consecration, terraces to level out the approach, and some storage rooms (see Hitchcock in press b; D'Agata 1992). For a sixteen-room structure with court and cistern to be built as a peak sanctuary at such an early date is out of character with regard to what we know about peak sanctuaries. In addition, the overwhelming majority of finds from the site are of a domestic character, including ten rooms containing domestic pottery, loom weights, stone tools, and bronze tools—including an axe, an adze, a chisel, a sickle, and a spearhead (Xanthoudides 1906: 117–156; Platon 1951: 122–124; Davaras 1972: 283–288; Watrous 1994: 721–722).

The cultic finds include two male figurines, one female figurine, three heads, a torso, a zoomorphic figurine, a round offering table, a pithos fragment inscribed with Linear A, stone vases, an ovoid rhyton, and triton shells[5] (detailed in Gesell 1985: 83, Pls. 61, 152; also Xanthoudides 1906: 117–156; Platon 1951: 122–124; Davaras 1972: 283–288). All of the cult objects were found scattered on or in fill above the ground floors, indicating they had fallen from an upper story. The figurines came from just outside room 4 at the northern end of the building, while most of the other cultic finds were found in fill above rooms 8 and 9 in the southeastern part of the larger southeastern portion of the building, although the findspots of the triton shells were not recorded (Gesell 1985: 83). Although we do not know the precise context of the ritual objects found at Chamaizi, they seem to cluster in specific and discrete areas of the house, and probably fell from the

[5] Actual triton shells were typical ritual offerings in Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece. They are also known from Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus (Åström and Reese 1990) and from the Philistine temple at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980: 115–118, Fig. 45, Pl. 36.3). They could be used as horns or hollowed out and used as libation vessels. They were replicated in both stone and clay.

upper floor, indicating the possibility that there were two cult corners on the upper floor. Whittaker (2002: 78) observes that the area of room 4 was spatially distinct and easily accessible from the street. She suggests that nonresidents could easily gain access to this area of the house. Treating these spaces at Chamaizi as cult corners is an attractive proposal as it directs discussion away from a cultic versus domestic binarism.

Phaistos, First Palace, Small Publicly Dedicated Accessible Cult Rooms and Corners

Although most of our knowledge of the Minoan palaces derives from the remains of the second palaces, we know that the first palaces (ca. 1900–1700 BCE or MM IB–MM III Early) had paved, public western courts with stone-lined pits and raised triangular walkways—presumably for processions, indented western facades fronting long rows of storage magazines, and rectangular central courts with 2: 1 proportions and oriented north–south. Wings of rooms on all four sides of the central court defined these features of the palaces (with the exception of Gournia, below). These wings included storage and work areas, spacious halls, and dedicated cult rooms (Hitchcock 2010a). The particular arrangement, number, and variety of some architectural features varied on a site-by-site basis.

An unusual feature found in the first (though not second) palace at Phaistos was a small, six-roomed complex fronting the northern edge of the western wing and known as the Upper West Court Sanctuary Complex (see Gesell 1985: 120–124; Marinatos 1993: 98–100; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 68) (Fig. 1). All six rooms and a corridor connecting them contained between one and three benches for the placement of offerings, which included decorated pottery, a variety of offering or libation tables, double axes, a triton shell, a bronze dagger blade, stone vessels, stone tools and other items, and food preparation equipment.[6] What is unusual about this cluster of rooms is that several of them

[6] A detailed room-by-room catalog is given in Gesell (1985: 120). Marinatos (1993: 98–100) interprets this group of rooms as a dining shrine and associates grinding equipment with the preparation of bread. More recent research in ceremonial feasting has shown that such implements could also be used for producing condiments or spices for meat or liquids (cf. Hamilakis 2008: esp. 13).

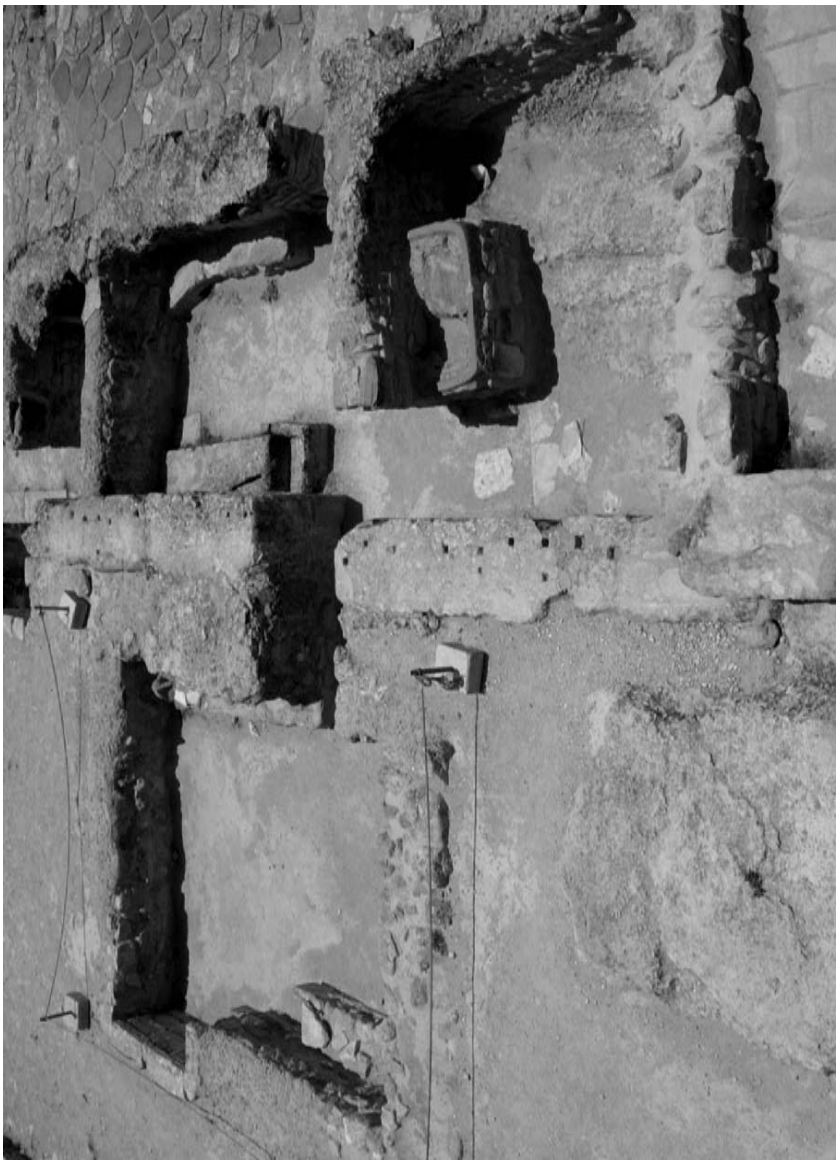


Figure 1. First Minoan palace at Phaistos, Crete; detail of cult rooms accessible from the west court. Clockwise from left: rooms VIII, VII, VI, V, view from north, ca. 1900–1700 BCE (photograph by author).

communicated both with the exterior and public western court, as well as with the interior of the palace, suggesting they were constructed for both public and private use (also Marinatos 1993: 99–100). Four of the rooms (V, VI, VII, X) front onto the western court. Rooms V and VI progress to a small hall, VIII, which leads to smaller, rear chamber, IX, that perhaps functioned as a holy of holies.[7]

Rooms VII and X are particularly unusual in that they communicate exclusively with the public western court, suggesting that they were primarily for public use. Room VII, a small room measuring 2.2 m × 1.5 m, is physically connected to Rooms V, VI, VIII, IX, but does not communicate with them. Although it also contained a plastered bench, it is interpreted as a storeroom for the shrine, with which it does not communicate. This is probably based on the paucity of the finds, which included decorated pottery, a stone palette, and a grindstone (Gesell 1985: 120). Room X, measuring 4.55 m × 3.13 m, is located catercorner to Room VII and was appointed with three plastered benches and a plaster and flagstone floor. Although it contained a circular offering table, a stone vase, decorated Kamares ware pottery, lamps, and a bronze double axe, Room X is also interpreted as a storeroom (ibid.; Marinatos 1993: 99). Given that these rooms only communicate with the exterior and contain special items, such as Kamares ware pottery, which was usually used for feasting (see Day and Wilson 1998), an offering table, and a double axe (in the case of Room X), the storage room interpretation does not make sense.

If we consider these two particular rooms in their broader eastern Mediterranean context, it might make more sense to regard them as publicly accessible cult corners or rooms embedded in the fabric of a larger monumental public building. It becomes easier to accept this suggestion considering a second, publicly accessible cult room was found in the second palace at Mallia (see below). It is generally accepted that, by the period of the second palaces in the beginning of the Minoan Late Bronze Age (ca. 1700 BCE or MMIII/LMIA transition), there was

[7] Gesell (1985: 120) regards this as a preparation room; however, as the smallest (1.3 m × 1.7 m) and most-secluded room in the shrine, it may have been a holy of holies, although the only finds were a stone palette, a pestle, a terracotta bowl, and a grater. Room VIII, the slightly larger room leading into it, is regarded as the "bench sanctuary" because it contained two offering tables, several stone bowls, decorated Kamares ware pottery, and a triton shell, among other things. Another possibility is that this is where particular rites took place, with the smaller and more secluded room having a more special purpose that eludes us.

an appropriation of a number of what had previously been sites of popular cult in caves and on mountain peaks as indicated by special built features, inscribed objects, and other offerings in special materials such as bronze (cf. Peatfield 1987). Along these lines, I have proposed that the palaces were also symbolically appropriating other features of the landscape in the second palace period through special orientations, architectural features replicating the landscape, and fresco paintings of the landscape (Hitchcock 2007). To take this idea further, it would not seem unusual to see at least some of the palaces appropriating an aspect of domestic cult, such as the cult corner.

Although only two reasonably good early examples of cult corners were presented above, it is possible to hypothesize that there was probably a more widespread presence of cult corners or otherwise domestic cult spaces than there is evidence for in the published literature. Recent research on domestic cult (Murphy 2009) has shown that there is very little secure evidence in Pre- and Proto-Palatial Crete for domestic cult, not because ritual items such as feasting ware, figurines, stone vases, and bull rhyta are not found in domestic spaces, but because these types of objects have only been found in a loose association with settlements. Murphy (2009) shows this to be a result of more attention to tombs (which were in greater danger of being looted) over settlements in early excavations, finds occurring in fill or on the surface of settlement sites, disturbance of the area where objects were found, secondary deposition, lack of publication detail, redating of some material to later periods, and disagreement among archaeologists of the character of finds. She (ibid.) reinvestigated ten lower-order settlement sites that preserve no evidence of dedicated cult structures and determined that five of them contained material that might be linked to domestic cult. Although there is no secure evidence for a cult corner *per se*, the types of objects mentioned above might be seen as fitting in a domestic cult corner, cult room, or popular town shrine, analogous, but not identical to the small, open-air high place recently excavated at Tel Rehov (see Mazar 1999: 23–28) with *masseboth*, where finds included a fenestrated stand and figurines.[8] A similar assemblage of features is found at the Israelite site of Lachish approximately 15 m to the southeast of

[8] Other small town shrines occur at Israelite and Philistine shrines of the same period. Among these are Shrine 49 from Level V at Lachish (Aharoni 1975: 26–29), Shrine 300 from Strata X and XI at Tell Qasile, and Temple 200 from Stratum XI at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980). However, these structures have more formal architecture

Cult Room 49, which dated to Levels V–III; it included a *massebah*, the remnants of an olive tree—possibly an *asherah*—in Level V only, and two *favissae* (one from Level IV and one from Level III) (Aharoni 1975: 28–31, Fig. 8, Pl. 60).[9] Although we cannot recover such a good context for ritual objects in domestic Cretan sites, the analogy of the cult corner or small town shrine provides us with a means of accounting for the presence of such objects that fits with what we know of the social practices and subsistence strategies of the region.

Gournia, Cult Corner in Western Court

Gournia is the site of a small palace of the second palace period (ca. 1700–1490/1450 BCE) embedded in the center of a Minoan town in northeastern Crete, on the bay of Mirabello (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 104). The palace consists of a series of terraces with storage rooms on a lower terrace to the west and nicer reception halls on an upper terrace to the east. These rooms are situated wholly on the northern side of the small "central" court. As the central courts of other palaces are completely surrounded by the wings of the palace, the central court at Gournia seems more connected to the civic life of the town (cf. Preziosi 1983: 78–83; Soles 1991). Access to the palace is gained by following a paved roadway that runs along the western façade, which conceals the storage magazines. As one approaches the entry ramp, which leads to the northwestern corner of the central court and the entrance to the palace on the northern side of the court, there is a widening of the roadway that forms a very small or abbreviated western court, measuring just approximately 5 m × 15 m (Preziosi 1983: 80; Soles 1991: 35). It is irregular in shape, consisting of two squarish recesses extending eastward and forming corners that are passed prior to ascending the entry ramp to the central court.

The first of these recesses, measuring about 3 m × 2.5 m, contains the clearest architectural example of a *baetyl*, the Aegean version of a standing stone or *massebah*, in Minoan Crete (cf. Soles 1991: 49–52) (Fig. 2).

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than the shrine at Tel Rehov and bear a closer resemblance to Post-Palatial (ca. 1190–1000 or LMIIIC) town shrines.

[9] Cult Room 49 was a small, benched room from Level V measuring 2.3 m × 3.3 m and containing a rich assemblage of cult vessels (incense burners, chalices, lamps, jugs, and a cooking pot) and a limestone altar; it may have been part of a larger structure (Aharoni 1975: 27–29, Figs. 5–7, Pl. 6.2).



Figure 2. Minoan palace at Gournia, Crete; west court/cult corner, *baetyl*; view from south, ca. 1700–1490/50 BCE (photograph by author).

It is composed of a slightly curved slab of local conglomerate (ca. width 1 m × height 1 m). A cupule, which was pounded into a stone pavement slab associated with the *baetyl*, has been interpreted as a place to deposit offerings to the *baetyl* (Hood 2000: esp. 608–609). The cupule would have resembled and hence referenced mortars used for grinding grain, a commodity that may have been stored within the walls of the palace in the storage rooms behind the *baetyl*. A *baetyl* may be distinguished by its size and weight (cf. Karageorghis 1992: 212), by being modified, situated in a prominent position, or by unusual color or composition (Warren 1990: 202–203, 205, n. 63). Other than its size and placement, there is nothing remarkable about the conglomerate slab at Gournia until one considers the fact that upright slabs of living rock occur in the surroundings of peak sanctuaries, as is particularly notable around the sanctuary at Mount Trostalos in east Crete. This may illustrate one more example of a Minoan palace bringing a feature of the landscape within the purview of a palace complex. *Baetyl* hugging was depicted on some Minoan sealings (cf. Warren 1990) and this activity has been associated with the potential inducement of an altered state of consciousness (McGowan 2006) that may have taken place at peak sanctuary sites and at Gournia. For individuals proceeding through the western court to the palace, the *baetyl* served as a

visual cue referencing a deity, who sanctioned the authority of the local political structure as embodied by the palace (Hitchcock 2007). This constellation of features renders the western court at Gournia distinct from those of the other palaces, and the small size of the associated recess lends the location of the *baetyl* and its offering cupule the appearance of a cult corner. In addition, its contextual relationship to the building is not unlike the association of *masseboth* with gates as mentioned above for Bethsaida and Tel Dan.

Kato Zakro, Palace, Small Dedicated Room

The second palace (ca. 1700–1490/1450 BCE or MMIII/LMIA–LMIB) at Kato Zakro on the eastern coast of Crete is organized around a central court roughly 25% of the size of the larger palaces at Knossos, Mallia, and Phaistos (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 107). Its location, unique water features, Linear A archive, processional road leading to the harbor, and imports including copper ingots and elephant ivory indicate its importance and have led archaeologists to assume that it was built to facilitate trade with the Near East (Hitchcock 2000: 87–88; 94–97; Wiener 1987: 265). Another space that has attracted only mild interest among Aegean scholars is a small, rectangular room, room 23, measuring 2.8 m × 2 m and appointed with two benches, a plaster floor, and a drain. This entire constellation of features is interpreted by Gesell (1985: 137) as a bench sanctuary and by Marinatos (1993: 101) as a food preparation room for the dining hall located in the northern wing of the palace. It is situated in the central part of the western wing, between the small sunken room or lustral chamber, and archive room, and in close proximity to the main gathering hall and storage area. The finds, which include two piriform rhyta, two bronze plates with lily design for a box, a grindstone, and cups decorated with double axes (Platon 1985: 125), do not make a compelling case for a ritual space. The small size of the room and distance from the dining hall does not make a compelling case for a food preparation area either. Barshinger (1988: 104) also accepted that room 23 was a bench sanctuary based on its spatial centrality and proximity to the lustral basin, while Hitchcock (2000: 54) observed that in terms of its form and size, it could just as easily serve as a cupboard or a preparation area as the nature of the finds do not suggest a shrine. The presence of plastered surfaces, benches, a drain, and libation vessels in the form of rhyta are

characteristics of a cult corner as defined above, and reconsidering it as a cult corner gives greater clarity to the arguments of Gesell and Barshinger.

Mallia, Palace, Small Dedicated Publicly Accessible Cult Room

Like the first palace at Phaistos, the second palace at Mallia (ca. 1700–1490/1450 BCE or MMIII/LMIA–LMIB) also contained a set of interconnected rooms that only communicated with the exterior of the palace (Chapouthier et al. 1962: 9–11; Pelon et al. 1980: 213–218). These eight rooms (XVIII.1–8) are located at the southern end of the western wing of the palace between the eight conical granaries situated at the end of a processional way on the western court and the main southern entrance. It is likely that most visitors would pass by these architectural features upon entering the broad entry corridor leading into the palace on the south. Cult equipment was predominantly found in XVIII.1, the first room one would enter from the exterior. This room was small, measuring approximately 3.88 m × 3.48 m (Pelon et al. 1980: 214). The finds from room XVIII.1 included a portable altar, tripod tables, vases, shells, lamps, and terracotta feet. The altar, which was placed against the western wall, had a cross and a star incised on it, symbols also engraved on one of the pillars supporting the domed granaries (Marinatos 1993: 101). Tubular vases were placed around the altar and tripod-shaped offering tables were placed indirectly in front of it, while the feet were lying close to the doorway leading into XVIII.3 (Chapouthier et al. 1962: 9, Fig. 1). The close relationship between this set of rooms, the granaries, and the southern entrance suggests the possibility of related activities being carried out in relationship to all of these features: for example, tithing or receiving a ration of grain, engaging in ritual activity in *Quartier* XVIII, then processing into the palace. Room XVIII.4, which was directly behind room XVIII.3, contained a large number of vases and may have served as a cupboard for activities carried out in the cult room, including the distribution of special types of food or drink (cf. Hamilakis 1999).[10] Room XVIII.1 clearly fits the criteria of a cult corner, which, in this

[10] Driessen and MacDonald (1997: 184) believe that the placement of the objects indicates that a ritual was being carried out close to the time of the final destruction at Mallia.

case, is embedded in the palace but accessible only from the exterior of the palace. Like the corner in the early palace at Phaistos, it had features associated with the sea and with libation rituals.

Phaistos, Palace, Cult Corner in Court

In the northwestern corner of the central court in the second palace at Phaistos are a total of four rectangular ashlar blocks arranged two courses high, side by side and slightly recessed, to form a two-stepped platform (Fig. 3). Further toward the center of the northern end of the court, two niches flank a central entry corridor, corridor 41, that have been traditionally interpreted as "sentry boxes" (Graham 1961: 170; 1970: 234, n. 31, Ill. 1; 1987: Fig. 50). They were decorated with diagonal bands of linked rhomboids that cross in the middle and match the decoration in a similar niche opening off corridor 41, forming a crisscross design (Evans 1921: 373, Fig. 271; Graham 1957: 258; 1970: 234).[11] These two sets of features have been conflated in some of the archaeological literature based on the imagery on a Minoan seal "said to be" from Priene (Evans 1921: 377, n. 1) that depicts a bull either drinking from a stone tank or looking into a box with a lattice-work pattern that forms a border and a crisscrossed diagonal design on the tank. As a bull drinks from the tank, a leaper is hurtling down upon the bull from an unseen vantage. The depiction of the tank resembles the stepped platform, while the crisscross designs on the seal replicate the crisscross designs on the nearby niches.

Graham (1957: 260; also Thompson 1986: 8) interprets the "tank" or "box" on the seal as a platform and associates it with the stepped stone platform in the northwestern corner of the court at Phaistos. Younger (1995: 512–513) rejects this proposal based on the fact that the bull is clearly looking into the tank/box and on the fact that the platform in the northwestern corner of the central court was not only solid on top, but had a terracotta tray with fixed vessels attached to it as well as fragmentary animal figurines, which were found on top of it when

[11] Contrast Hitchcock (2000: 107–108), who has argued that the two niches flanking the central corridor, corridor 41, form an arrangement known as a "tripartite shrine" based on Shaw's (1978: 438) observation that the niches at Phaistos are formally similar to the balancing niches flanking a central niche, as depicted on a vessel known as the Peak Sanctuary Rhyton.



Figure 3. Second Minoan palace at Phaistos, Crete; central court; detail of platform in northwest corner, view from south, ca. 1700–1490/50 BCE (photograph by author).

it was excavated. The corner location of the stepped ashlar-platform and the nature of the finds including a tray and cult paraphernalia found on top of it may better argue for the feature being a part of the court reserved for use as a cult corner. This assessment is based on criteria listed in the introduction, including the decorated drinking vessels, corner location, and platform. In a Levantine context, it is highly likely that the stepped platform would be interpreted as a high place. Although the assemblage is different, the general arrangement is reminiscent of Megiddo 2081.

Mycenae, Gate, Cult Niche

The fortification of the acropolis at Mycenae began around 1340 BCE and consisted of three construction phases, which progressively increased the extent of the area under protection. The construction of the famous "Lion Gate" belongs to the second phase of fortification when the citadel was nearly doubled in size some ninety years later, around 1250 BCE. At this time, a monumental passageway leading up to the citadel and known as the Great Ramp was constructed over the broken slabs of the newly refurbished Grave Circle A and an earlier ramp of hard-packed earth and pebbles. As discussion of the Lion Gate tends to focus on its construction details, iconography, and strategic purpose, a feature that has received only minor attention is the so-called guardhouse or gatekeeper's lodge. This feature is a small, raised chamber built into the wall and naturally sloping rock within the Lion Gate on its eastern side. It is really more of a niche than a room, measuring just 1.85 m (length) × 1.3 m (width) × 1.50 m (height) (Iakovides 1983: 31), and it is smaller than the smallest such room on the mainland at Gla, which measures just 2.4 m × 3 m.[12] Charitonides (1960: 1–3) suggested that it was a gate shrine dedicated to the deity who protected the citadel in analogy with other proposed shrines at Tiryns, Troy, and later classical sites, a purpose favored by Iakovides (1983: 31) with little additional comment. While assigning this space to a particular deity is difficult, a small space with little functional purpose situated inside of a gate clearly fits a broader pattern of locating cultic spaces in transitional areas as noted above. More recently, large deposits of cultic material were found in and around the "guardroom" of the West Gate at the Mycenaean citadel at Midea, also in the Argolid. This material included ritual vessels, symbolic items such as representations of figure-of-eight shields and seals, and 191 figurines including humans (both male and female) and animals, which were complete and fragmentary, wheel made and abstract, and included chariot groups (as detailed in Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 2000). Thus, it becomes attractive to associate the idea of the cult corner also with Mycenaean citadels and with the "guardhouse" at Mycenae, despite the lack of finds.

[12] In addition, the guardrooms at Gla were situated to the right of anyone entering, in contrast to the niche at Mycenae, which was situated on the left (cf. Hood 1957: 12).

Cyprus

Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrieos, Small Dedicated Cult Room with Libation Stone

Building X is a finely built, court-centered administrative structure[13] at the site of Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* in southern-central Cyprus (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 204). Although it can be regarded as monumental, at ca. 30.5 m × 30.5 m (South 1988: 223), it is relatively small by Aegean standards. Building X dates to Late Cypriot (LC) IIC (thirteenth century BCE) and is composed of three wings organized around a small, squarish central court. It is also known as the "Ashlar Building," based on its striking and lavish use of ashlar masonry, which is especially noticeable in the halls devoted to the storage of gigantic pithoi on the west and northwest. The masonry was made of dark calcareous "Tochni" sandstone (South 1991: 134; 1992: 133) and is characterized by finely worked ashlar plinths with drafted margins, rusticated central panels, and decorative bosses on the inside and out, and topped by ashlar orthostats, also with raised central panels and bosses. The main entrance is on the south, and next to it, on the west, are the remnants of a staircase to the upper story (cf. South 1984: 21). The court would have been partially roofed by a portico supported by two enormous pillar bases. The central court is set off from the surrounding rooms by corridors that flank either side of it. A second, subsidiary entrance on the northwest provided direct access to the enormous pithos hall, which is supported by a central row of monolithic ashlar pillars and forms the western wing of the building (Hitchcock 1999). The entire arrangement indicates careful planning on the part of the architect and the employment of a skilled team of builders and masons.

Room A.162 is a small square room with a plaster floor measuring ca. 5 m × 5 m at the far northeastern end of Building X. It consists of a U-shaped space surrounding a smaller square room measuring ca. 2.5 m × 2.5 m and accessed by an opening in the southeastern

[13] The term "court-centered building" was proposed by J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (1993: 186, n. 152) to refer to a noncanonical Minoan building with a central court, and it has since been adopted by others. This term, as well as the terms "central administrative structure" or "ashlar building," reflects my preferences in discussing monumental buildings on Cyprus.

corner by the long north–south corridor running along the eastern wing. A large pit was cut through the plaster floor in the opening in the southeastern corner of the squarish room, which extends to the southern wall (S.251) of A.162 (South 1983: 100). A large flat, rectangular slab of stone (ca. 1.46 m × 1.13 m × 0.2 m), pierced in the center by a square hole, covered the large pit (South 1983: 100; Russell 1986: 27–28). The covering block fits Webb's (1977: esp. 124) description of altar blocks used for pouring libations. The pit itself is figure-of-eight shaped and is ca. 2 m wide and over 2 m deep, but narrows to a smaller pit with the same shape. The shape of the pit is quite distinctive and calls to mind the shape of Aegean figure-of-eight-shaped shields. The figure-of-eight shield was a cult emblem in the Aegean (cf. Rehak 1984) that was represented elsewhere on Cyprus as gold jewelry (Papadopoulos 1997: 179). The pit contained two clay cylinders with Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, a stamp seal engraved with the figure of a bull, some nondiagnostic LB pottery, and over 1 kg of caprid leg bones indicating feasting (Russell 1986: 28; Hitchcock et al. 2008). Russell (1986: 28) suggests that this unusual assemblage had a special significance. It is tempting to speculate that the deposit of objects commemorated an alteration to the building, or some other special event, while the pierced block indicates ongoing libation ceremonies. The small size of the room, special deposit of offerings, and possible ongoing use of the pierced block for libations suggest that this room functioned as a cult corner for Building X.

Myrtou Pighades, Modified, Small Cult Room

The East Building at Myrtou-*Pighades* (Taylor 1957: 5 Fig. 3, 11, Fig. 7; Webb 1999: 45, Fig. 15) is another small, but monumental, court-centered building, which is comparable to similar small court-centered buildings on Cyprus that employ ashlar masonry and include house storage and/or industrial areas such as Building X at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (Hitchcock 2008). It is dated to the LCIIB–C transition and to LCIIC (ca. thirteenth century BCE) (Taylor 1957: 114; Webb 1999: 48). The main features of the East Building include a central court, oriented north–south, which is flanked by lateral circulatory corridors and a series of side chambers. It measures 16 m east/west × 20 m north/south (Webb 1999: 48), although the southern extent is not clearly defined. Webb (1999: 48) documented a second architectural phase, which resulted in reducing the size of the court to create

additional rooms on the north and the south. The western façade of the East Building formed the eastern boundary of the public western court. This façade was distinguished by a bench running along it with a series of pierced stones placed above it that may have served as "tethering blocks" for sacrificial animals (Taylor 1957: 12; Webb 1999: 44). The focal point of the western court is the reconstructed colossal stepped altar topped by horns of consecration (Taylor 1957: 13–16; Ionas 1985) surrounded by small square stones containing sockets for the display of cult emblems.

A contiguous series of rooms (15–17, 20a–b) containing an assortment of ritual paraphernalia and offerings occupy the eastern wing of the East Building. Their substantial walls further indicate the importance of the building (Taylor 1957: Pl. 4c). A bench was added to the central room, room 16, during Period VI; benches are typical features of Aegean shrines and cult rooms and Levantine cult corners. The finds associated with these rooms and the corridor indicate ritual practices connected with metallurgy and bovines.[14] Notable among them were an intertwined group of bronze stands and tripods, an offering stand, a Mycenaean conical rhyton, and a clay stamp seal (room 15); a bronze shovel covered with lumps of copper and slag, an inscribed plain white jug, an offering stand, and the notched shoulder blade of an ox (room 16); lumps of slag and two more shoulder blades of oxen (room 17); and another shoulder blade of an ox (room 20a) (Taylor 1957: 20–21; Zeuner 1957: 97–102; Webb 1985, 1999: 48–50). In the corridor outside rooms 16 and 17 was more slag, long bones, and pottery (Taylor 1957: 20–21; Zeuner 1957: 99–100; Steel 2004: 176–177). Cypriot and/or Mycenaean vessels were found in all of these areas. The small size and lack of accessibility to these rooms may indicate ritual practices and feasting of a private and restricted nature, the curation of feasting remains, and ritual activity linked to metallurgy. The ritual activity linked to metallurgy in relationship to rooms 16 and 17 may indicate that they were industrial cult corners (cf. Gilmour 1995: 216). Koehl (2006: 310) interprets rhyta associated with metallurgical remains in the Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos as being connected with the possible performance of magic related to metalworking, which reinforces this suggestion.

[14] On the relationship between ritual and metallurgy in general, see Knapp (1986) and Blakely (2006).

Philistia

Tell es-Ṣafi/Gath, Building 23033, Industrial Cult Corner

Tell es-Ṣafi is located in the Shephelah, approximately midway between Jerusalem and Ashdod (Maeir 2008). In the Iron Age (ca. 1180–600 BCE) it was the location of Gath, one of the five main cities of the Philistine Pentapolis mentioned in the Bible. New discoveries from Tell es-Ṣafi/Gath are changing the way we view the Philistines and their relationship to Cyprus and the Aegean (Maeir 2008). The Philistines may be regarded as a hybridized culture with elements introduced by settlers from various parts of the Mediterranean as a result of piracy and upheaval that characterized the end of the Bronze Age (cf. Gitin et al. 1998; Oren 2000). Although the precise details of the various cultural strands of the Philistines are still being debated, there are features that can be linked to various parts of the Aegean and Cyprus, as well as to the local Canaanite culture.

Building 23033 is a Stratum 3 (ninth century BCE) structure located in Area A where the majority of Philistine remains on the tell have been uncovered (Zukerman et al. 2007: 66, Fig. 8). The plan of Building 23033 has some Aegean characteristics. It is composed of a hall with porch employing approximate 1: 2 proportions and four side chambers, but it is lacking the circulatory corridor separating the hall from side chambers as found in canonical *megara*.[15] The plan of Building 23033 indicates that it was special, as does the context of some of the finds that may be regarded as ritual. These include notched animal scapulae found near an entrance and associated with a bench, and a painted chalice in another wing of the building (Zukerman et al. 2007: 64, 66, Fig. 8), which might be indicative of a cult corner.

Building 23033 also contained industrial installations for oil and wine production, as well as weaving implements, indicating it had a predominantly industrial function (Zukerman et al. 2007: 64–65). The

[15] The canonical Mycenaean megaron (see Hitchcock 2010b – Barber 1992) of the Late Bronze Age had a rectangular outline and consisted of a hall, fore-hall, and a porch with two columns *in antis* to support the roof. Both the fore-hall and the porch were approximately one half the depth of the inner hall. The internal arrangement of the megaron was dominated by a circular hearth, and surrounded by four columns arranged in a square. The megaron frequently had rear chambers and side corridors giving access to smaller, square service rooms to the side.

location of the scapulae in buildings with industrial installations for oil and wine production and weaving implements may be taken as an example of what Burdajewicz (1990: 67) has termed "sacred economy," a relationship between ritual and industrial activity. The bench with scapulae and a chalice may even represent an industrial "cult corner," which need not be located in an actual corner, but may simply be understood as a small area in a larger building where cult objects were located (cf. Gilmour 1995: 15, 214–217). Koehl (2006: 335) has suggested that rhyta were used in libations related to the textile industry based on their frequent association with loom weights. In the case of Building 23033, the chalice may similarly have been associated with libation activities linked to textile production. Sacred economy is well documented on Cyprus (cf. Knapp 1986), and notched scapulae on Cyprus were found in cult buildings that had a connection to metallurgical activities, such as at Myrtou-*Pighades* (above). Given that cult corners can be identified in Canaanite, Cypriot, and Aegean culture, they would not be out of character at Tell es-Ṣafi/Gath.[16]

Conclusion

This paper is not arguing for cultural diffusion of the cult corner from the Levant to Cyprus or the Aegean, particularly as origins are not always easy to identify and such features are quite common across cultures (cf. Rapoport 1969: 15, 54–55), although regional manifestation of borrowings no doubt occurred in the eastern Mediterranean. The value in comparative studies of this type is that each provides additional categories of evidence and features that can be used to shed light on other cultures and perhaps identify broader patterns of social and ritual practices. Using analytical methods pioneered in one region such as the Levant makes it possible to identify and interpret similar constellations of other features and practices in others. For example, one interesting practice occurring across cultures might be the practice of divination using bone implements, taking the form of groups of astragali in Megiddo and Taʿanach (see King and Stager 2001: 341;

[16] Further to the west in Area A, a small rectangular space excavated in 2007 contained an unusual assemblage of ritual items including a pomegranate-shaped object, some phallic bottles, and a ring rhyton, which indicates another cult corner. The publication of this area is much anticipated.

Shiloh 1979: 149–152) and notched scapulae in Cyprus and Philistia. Others include the importance of standing stones and high places in rural and urban contexts, and the association of rhyta with metallurgical activity. In addition, analogies with the Levant allow us also to identify liminal spaces associated with Mycenaean gates and fortification systems. Evidence from Kalavassos in the form of the libation stone and specialized pouring vessels from Phaistos indicate that libation was a feature in both Aegean and Cypriot cult corners.

In investigating the concept of the cult corner in Cyprus and the Aegean, examples in certain periods came from monumental structures rather than domestic ones. However, it was suggested that these were derived from practices that developed in the pre-palatial Early Bronze Age. Furthermore, it can be suggested that some of the examples found in the Minoan palaces, particularly the first palace at Phaistos and the second palaces at Gournia and Mallia, were directed at the general population, as they were only accessible from the exterior. In a sense, they provided visitors to the palaces with a household cult corner away from home. Furthermore, given the disturbed context of early excavations of settlements as well as the lack of emphasis on the excavation and careful study of domestic architecture in the LB Aegean, some of the observations made for monumental buildings might bring greater clarification to understanding ritual practices in households.

Most significantly, applying the Levantine concept of the cult corner to the Aegean has enabled us to escape the polarization of seeing buildings as entirely cultic or entirely secular—whether the buildings were official or domestic. In doing so, it has become possible to interpret spaces in Aegean buildings with greater clarity, establish new criteria for the identification of ritual activity in domestic and official dwellings, and reconsider the symbolism of particular artifacts such as stone tools and decorated pottery with regard to current research on feasting. It was also argued that while the cult corner in the Aegean may have had its origins in the domestic sphere, it was a concept that was quickly appropriated with great success by those responsible for the construction of the Minoan palaces. The Aegean and Cypriot interpretation of the concept of the cult corner took several forms. These forms include publicly accessible cult corners, interior and centralized cult

rooms, and corners in courtyards that used *baetyls* or high places as focal points as at Gournia and Phaistos. The examples of cult corners in Cyprus and the Aegean surveyed here supplement the Levantine *corpus*, and may also take us a step further in studying interconnections among the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant.

VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION IN THE DOMESTIC SETTING[1]

Beth Alpert Nakhai

Introduction

Religious activities in Israel were enacted in real time and space and required the use of both ritual and commonplace artifacts. Elements of such activities must be reflected in the archaeological record, but scholars are challenged to identify sacral acts that did not take place within buildings specifically designated for religious purposes. While there is overall consensus concerning ritual in the Jerusalem Temple, and even in the major sanctuaries throughout the land, less is known about the practice of religion in the domestic setting. Recent studies have identified small cultic areas within Israelite houses at Tell el-Farʿah (N), Tell Halif and ʿAi, among others. This paper suggests that family elders of both sexes oversaw religious practice at these household shrines, but these elders held no monopoly over expressions of domestic piety. Additional rituals were enacted in mixed-use or multifunction spaces, that is, in areas throughout the house in which a variety of activities took place. Given the space limitations of the typical Israelite house and the myriad tasks to be accomplished within it, this is hardly surprising.

In Israel, domestic space was used in different ways depending upon seasonal factors, food preparation requirements, craft production activities, storage needs, issues with livestock, and more. The variegated nature of daily life activities meant that it was rare for a substantial part of a four-room house to be assigned exclusively to a single task or activity. Indeed, flexibility was one of the most

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies (Vienna). I would like to thank Jennie Ebeling, Laura Mazow, and Assaf Yasur-Landau for inviting me to participate in the 2008 *Household Archaeology in the Bronze and Iron Age Levant* session at the Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, and for including my work in this book.

compelling characteristics of this type of house, in which space was allocated for specific tasks and then reallocated, modified, or altered when needs changed. Like other activities within the Iron Age home, religious expression was sensitive to seasonal, familial, and personal factors. This paper addresses some of the questions raised by the use of domestic space for ritual activities. How can cultic areas within the domestic venue be identified and cultic acts reconstructed? What do they contribute to our knowledge of family religion? Finally, what does the consideration of mixed-use space as the locus of cultic activities contribute to ongoing discussions about gender and religion?

Overview: Official Religion

To set the stage for this examination of family religion, a brief overview of Israelite religion is in order. Rainer Albertz identified two "foci of identity" within Israelite religion. As he defines them, "official religion" operated for "the people" or "society as a whole," while "personal piety" related to the individual within the context of the family (1994: 19).[2] It is this distinction that makes it possible to move from the macro- to the micro-level, and from there into the important distinctions evident in what has, to date, often been variously considered domestic, household, or family religion.[3] First, though, a few comments about official religion provide appropriate background.

Official religion was about the welfare of the nation. It provided the venue for the king to care for his nation by tending to its national God or gods, and for the priesthood to articulate an ideology of purity, sin, and atonement through the ritual of sacrifice. In addition, it created opportunities for the population at-large to gather cyclically for festal pilgrimages, at which time they joined with others to celebrate their national identity by worshipping the national divinities. The Bible indicates that worship designed to sustain Israel as an agricultural society took place in the Jerusalem Temple, in thrice-annual pilgrimage festivals (Deut. 16: 1–17). Of course, the extent to which these

[2] See, more recently, Albertz 2008, for the introduction of village-level worship. See van der Toorn 1996 for a discussion of the village or clan rather than the household as the focus of local worship. See Olyan 2008 for a discussion of the connections among these elements within Israelite religion.

[3] See, most recently, the articles in Bodel and Olyan 2008 for various definitions of domestic, household, and family religion. See, too, Albertz et al. forthcoming.

festivals were celebrated throughout Israel's history is a matter of debate, and even less is known about the opportunities that pilgrimage offered to average individuals. The Bible does not forbid women from making pilgrimages, and the story of the annual pilgrimage of Elkanah and his two wives, Peninnah and Hannah, to the sanctuary at Shiloh elaborates upon that possibility (1 Sam. 1–2). So, too, does the story of the young women celebrating the grape harvest at Shiloh (Judg. 21: 19–24). At the same time, Deuteronomic law excludes women from the obligation to make pilgrimages, stating that, "Three times a year all your males shall come into the presence of YHWH your God, in the place which He will choose" (Deut. 16: 16). This suggests that a woman's need to give thanks, make vows, seek forgiveness, or supplicate God would have been met elsewhere, as well.[4]

Official religion was also practiced in royal or *bamot* sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem. Evidence for these sanctuaries comes from nationally significant sites including administrative and religious centers and fortresses, such as those at Megiddo, Arad, Beersheba, Lachish, Bethel, and Dan. Insofar as they are known archaeologically, they are identified by their well-built sanctuaries, substantial and weighty stone altars, rich cultural assemblages, piles of animal bones, and the like (see, inter alia, Zevit 2001). Like the Jerusalem Temple, these royal sanctuaries served national needs as they provided settings in which the priesthood maintained the royal cult, and government officials and soldiers fulfilled sacrificial obligations (Nakhai 1994, 2001: 176–193). Others may have turned to these sanctuaries when local worship failed to meet their needs. That the national sanctuaries received popular support seems likely, given the constant Deuteronomistic excoriation of "all Israel" for worshipping in them (see, inter alia, Lev. 26: 30; 1 Kings 3: 2, 14: 23; 2 Kings 14: 4; 17: 7–11).

Overview: Family Religion

Here, however, the focus is on "personal piety," on worship in the household context, in space that was also used for mundane domestic activities. This sort of worship (referred to variously as household,

[4] See, too, passages in Leviticus that articulate the periods of impurity during which women are prohibited from entering the sanctuary, and the point at which they are required to return and offer sacrifices (12: 2–8; 15: 25–30).

domestic, or family religion) can be related to those aspects of life that were of greatest concern to all Israelites: sustenance and economic survival, on the one hand; and health and reproduction, on the other.[5] To be effective, family religion had to encompass all these elements. Traditional approaches to family religion have lumped them into a single discussion, but I want to suggest that Israelites employed different strategies to manage these two kinds of concerns. Different space within the house was used for each, and different members of the household oversaw each of these two "foci of worship."

Household Shrines: The Shrine of the Family Elders

As we shall see, small household shrines are found in only a limited number of homes.[6] This type of shrine might be constructed as an alcove with an offering bench, or perhaps a *massebah*. Specialized cultic objects such as model shrines, portable stone altars and offering stands, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines are often associated with these modest domestic installations. Some scholars have linked them to women's worship (Willett 1999; Meyers 2002b; Ackerman 2008b) but in my opinion, they are to be associated with housing compounds and their resident kin groups and not with individual residences. As such, they are better understood as the venue for worship by the extended family, most often with regard to matters of subsistence and general welfare. Family elders, that is, the ranking matriarch and patriarch of the extended family living in the multihouse compound, oversaw worship at this small household "shrine of the family elders," which was set up within their own home.[7]

Let us consider household shrines and the subsistence economy. Israel's survival was dependent upon farming, herding, and the

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[5] Note S. Olyan's definition of family religion as "the religious practices of distinct, interrelated social units (household *and* clan) in a number of different loci (domicile, local and regional sanctuary, family tomb" (2008: 115), and S. Ackerman's distinction between the household, a spatial unit, and the family, a group bonded by biological and marital ties (2008b: 128).

[6] In some cases, a separate structure might have been set up within the housing compound. See Ackerman 2008b: 132 for Micah's family shrine (Judg. 18) as a discrete architectural entity.

[7] According to K. van der Toorn, family elders set up *teraphim* or *elohim*, small wooden statues, in special locations within their homes; both husband and wife were responsible for honoring these protective ancestors (2003: 396–399).

production of necessities including ceramic vessels, clothing, metal and stone tools and weapons, and more. At some level, Divine support was understood to have been required for success in all these ventures. The link between religion and the economy has been illuminated through the excavation of sites dating back as far as the Chalcolithic (Levy 2006; see also Nakhai 2001). People beseeched their gods for success in commercial ventures. In Iron Age Israel, an example is found at Tell el-Hammah in the Jordan Valley, where textile manufacture took place in one building while across the courtyard, a second building contained cultic objects including a kernos, a zoomorphic vessel, astragali, and a female plaque figurine (Cahill and Tarler 1993).[8] This highlights the link between religion and the economy, but this link was not restricted to places of commercial productivity.

Average Israelites similarly prayed for harvests and flocks sufficiently bountiful to meet family needs. Even as Temple worship served to support agricultural exigencies, those unable to travel there might have used the regional *bamot* sanctuaries to ask God for rain, offer thanks for plentiful harvests and healthy flocks, and so forth. However, it is not clear how accessible these royal sanctuaries would have been for acts of "popular worship." More likely, it was within their villages, alongside kinfolk and neighbors who shared in their agricultural and pastoral anxieties and responsibilities, that Israel's farmers invoked Divine assistance or expressed their gratitude for food, clothing, and shelter.

Worship in Jerusalem, insofar as it was organized around agricultural festivals, celebrated planting and harvesting, and worship in household sanctuaries was organized around similar themes. Even while crises such as drought, vermin, fire, livestock disease, and disruptions in commerce might threaten survival, much else concerned the predictable: the need for rain—or for no rain—in the right season, the desire for plentiful harvests and healthy livestock, and so forth.[9] Given the pervasive belief that success was granted by God, it seems reasonable to expect that within the housing compound, some kind of organized worship would have been designed to cope with these constant, pressing needs, and some built space would have been dedicated

[8] For the association between the textile industry and the goddess Asherah at Tell el-Hammah and elsewhere, see Ackerman 2008a.

[9] For seasonal worship, see de Vaux 1961: 178–194; van der Toorn 2003.

to this kind of worship. That such responsibility would fall to family elders, whose longevity attested to their capacity to manage crises and to receive God's blessings, seems obvious. Judges 17–18, the story of Micah and his mother, demonstrates that family ownership of a household shrine and its requisite cultic objects was permissible, and that the family matriarch could commission such a shrine. Jeremiah 7: 18 and 44: 15–20 highlight the familial dimension of worship and show that worship did not require the offices of a formal priesthood. Additional passages (inter alia, Gen. 12: 1–3; 16: 7–14; 17: 1–22; 24: 48; 28: 10–19; 31: 30–36; 35: 6–15; Num. 30: 3–15; Judg. 4–5; 6: 11–32; 11: 39–40; 13: 2–25; 1 Sam. 1–2; 19: 11–19) indicate that worship, whether private or in the family setting, was undertaken not only by men but also by women, and that both women and men experienced encounters with the Divine. If the purity laws promulgated by the Levitical priesthood had traction outside the Temple at some point during the Iron Age, then the family shrine may have been the place at which at least some of them were resolved.

Where might the household shrine have been located? To answer this question, let us look at the typical Israelite home. Broadly generalizing, it was a multichambered two-story structure, in which a nuclear family and its dependents resided. In towns and cities, these houses were smaller than they were in the countryside, reflecting space constraints, different patterns of use, and variations in family structure (Faust 2000; Schloen 2001: 141; Bunimovitz and Faust 2003a, 2003b). W. G. Dever considers the four-room house the ideal farmhouse for an agriculturally-based society (2003: 104–105), while G. London refers to it as a "workstation" (2003). Both these descriptions highlight the fact that the four-room house was not only a residence, but also a place of domestic production.[10] Most commonly, several such houses were clustered together, creating a kind of residential compound. L. E. Stager's study linking biblical terms for family units (*mishpaḥa* and *beit ʾav*) with Iron Age houses and housing compounds (1985) underscores the congruence between the biblical ideal and the archaeological reality.[11] Within the compound, the elder or ranking couple, the familial matriarch and patriarch, presided over an extended family

[10] For discussions of domestic production, see Schloen 2001: 136–147; Meyers 2003a.

[11] See, too, Faust 2000: 30; Schloen 2001: 111–112, Fig. 2.

consisting of some constellation of sons, sons' families, dependent women and children who lacked alternative places of residence, servants, "sojourners" (*gerim*), and slaves.[12] While ultimate authority—and responsibility—rested on the shoulders of this elder couple, all members of the multigenerational extended family worked together to meet communal needs.

Archaeologists have identified household shrines (sometimes called "cult corners") at Iron Age sites including Tell el-Farʿah (N), Tell Halif, Beersheba, Tel Masos, Tell en-Naṣbeh, Tall al-ʿUmayri, Tell el-Wawiyat and ʿAi.[13] Typically, they incorporate some combination of platforms or benches, alcoves or niches, stone altars or incense stands, and *masseboth*. Some contain one or more model shrines, in which deities were understood to reside (Bretschneider 1991). To date, only a few sites (e.g., Tell el-Farʿah [N] and Tel Masos) have yielded more than one household shrine. In general, although not without exception, the cultic objects associated with household shrines differ from the religious ephemera found throughout the average home. Most important is the fact that the household shrine expressed stability and longevity, a physicality of space, by virtue of its construction, weightiness, built elements, relative complexity, and other defining features. That is, the household shrine was much more than "clustered" (Holladay 1987) cultic ephemera.

A few examples illustrate these points. In the Iron I (Stratum III), the site of Tell el-Wawiyat, in Israel's Bet Netofah Valley, contained two large buildings, each of which served residential and commercial functions. In addition, an unusual configuration of architectural elements, installations, and small finds in one, the K–L Building, suggests that it was sometimes used for ritual activities. A complex jar stand was set into the plastered floor midway between a cylindrical stone offering stand and a small L-shaped alcove, finished with the only hewn and plastered stone blocks found in the building. Contributing to its identification as a household shrine are cultic objects, including heirloom MBII scarabs, beads, a chalice, a basalt tripod, a broken plaque figurine, and a bronze spearhead (Nakhai et al. 1993).

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[12] For discussions of the extended family that emphasize the role of the (male) elders, and for extensive bibliography, see de Vaux 1961; Schloen 2001: 147–165.

[13] For more on shrines and cultic paraphernalia in Israel and Judah, see Shiloh 1979; Negbi 1993; Holladay 1987; Willett 1999; Zevit 2001; for Jordan, see Daviau 2001; for Philistia, see Schmitt 2008.

The roughly contemporary Building A at Tall al-ʿUmayri on Jordan's Madaba Plain contained a room with a flagstone floor. Although the building was used primarily for domestic activities, a 1 m high well-formed *massebah* stood against the western wall of Room A1, while a nicely formed flat-lying stone lay on paving stones in front of and perpendicular to the *massebah* (Herr 2006).[14]

At tenth-century Tell el-Farʿah (N) (Level 7b), domestic shrines were found in several residential compounds. In one, two female figurines (one holding a tambourine and the other nursing an infant), a zoomorphic vessel, an alabaster pendant, beads, and a terracotta model shrine were found near a small bench in the interior courtyard of House 440. In the other, a model shrine was found in a pit in the interior courtyard of House 149B (Chambon 1984). In addition, some houses had interior courtyards fitted with alcoves, each of which contained cultic objects, and one, a *massebah* (Willett 1999: 118–133). At Tell Halif, a spacious room extended across much of the rear of a large eighth-century house (Field IV). Within it, the cobbled Room 2 served as the primary living space for residents engaged in metalworking, weaving, and, perhaps, viticulture. While much of the room was empty, its northern third contained tools and vessels for food storage and consumption, as well as two rectangular, finely dressed stone offering stands, a fenestrated stand, and a pillar-base figurine (Hardin 2004).

Taken as a whole, the assemblage of ritual objects found in these and other household shrines includes tripod mortars, chalices, miniature ceramic vessels, arrowheads and knives, anthropomorphic (especially pillar-base) figurines, zoomorphic figurines, horse-and-rider figurines, miniature vehicles, model furniture, and fenestrated or otherwise elaborated ceramic stands. Some of these items reflect the subsistence economy, especially agricultural and pastoral responsibilities. Others evince a concern for defense or for commercial enterprises of various sorts. That both Asherah and Yahweh had a place at the shrine seems clear, given their place within the Jerusalem Temple (Ackerman 2003, 2006). Yahweh's dominion over crops, herds, and military success was matched by that of Asherah's over fertility and human reproduction; at the same time, it is clear that these "areas of specialization" represent

[14] Neither Str. III Wawiyat nor contemporary ʿUmayri were Israelite, but both are included here to demonstrate what seems to have been a regional approach to religious organization and practice.

interdependent rather than exclusive domains.[15] Evidence for their presence is suggested by the paired stands at Tell Halif, which evoke those in the royal sanctuary in Arad, and by model shrines understood to symbolize the home of the Divine Couple.[16]

Most important is the fact that these small household shrines are not found in every excavated house within a village or town. As previously noted, only Tell el-Farʿah (N) and Tell Masos have yielded more than one, although we can expect future excavations to uncover others, as the attention of archaeologists is increasingly drawn to household archaeology. At both these sites, each household shrine is located in a discrete residential compound rather than being clustered within a single compound. These residential compounds were each the home of a separate extended family, and I would suggest that the individual homes in which the shrines were found were those of the elders of those extended families. These couples were the "ritual experts" who officiated over worship by virtue of their age, family standing, expertise, and authority.[17] Others, more junior family members and household staff, who also lived in the residential compound, and perhaps neighbors too, would have joined with them. Worship at the household shrine of the family elders was communal yet personal, dealing with agriculture, livestock, commerce, military matters, family well-being, and the like.

Women's Religion in the Household Context

With this in mind, we turn to religious ephemera, the many small objects that are consistently found in multiple locations throughout four-room houses. These objects, which include figurines, amulets, beads and pendants, Bes figures, lamps, shells, model chairs, special clothing, things in specially chosen colors,[18] and more, were the property of women and they were used in worship that focused on matters

[15] See Ackerman 2008a: 16–17 and fn. 56 for an association between Asherah of LBII Ugarit and militarism.

[16] The worship of other deities is possible, but not obvious.

[17] Note, for example, the responsibilities borne by Micah's mother, who, in the absence of his father, attended to the establishment of a family shrine in Dan (Judg. 17–18).

[18] For a study of the importance of color and deliberate color choice in Iron II Israel, see Limmer 2007.

of health and reproduction. Due to the intimate nature of this worship, its practice could not be restricted to community shrines or shrines of the family elders. Instead, protective rituals and rituals designed to restore health and wellbeing were enacted in many (perhaps all) houses, in various locations throughout those houses, with the aid of religious ephemera that represent the physical traces of women's personal piety (Nakhai 2007).[19]

As noted above, the link between religion and Israel's subsistence economy provides one explanation for the flourishing family cult. Equally important to the community, to individual families, and to women were concerns for health and for reproduction. The belief that sickness and healing were God-given meant that it was to the Divine that supplicants turned for relief from illness and injury. Disease was personal, but epidemic disease affected whole communities. Illness or injury could result in lifelong disability or death and, of course, the loss of any individual was a loss not only for loved ones and family members, but also for the whole community, whose capacity to manage food, water, construction, defense, and so forth was dependent upon the full contribution of all its members. Reproduction was similarly a personal, familial, and community concern. It, too, affected the size of the community and the ability of its members to contribute fully to its maintenance and wellbeing. At the same time, it was incontrovertibly the arena of women, who undertook its risks for the sake of personal and community wellbeing (Nakhai in press a, in press b).

Since reproductive success, like other aspects of health and wellness, was dependent upon Divine favor, religious rituals were important. For help with reproductive problems, people might turn to priests in regional sanctuaries (1 Sam. 1–2) or perhaps to those in the Jerusalem Temple. For a number of reasons, though, worship at home, by women, would have been the most typical—and effective—way to address reproductive concerns. One stems from the intimate nature of reproduction. Israelite men, like men in many societies, may have been aware of basic aspects of the reproductive cycle and the birth process, but they were probably not knowledgeable about most of the physical details.[20] Also, it was women who suffered from childbirth-

[19] For a discussion of the engendering of household space, see Hendon 2006 and references therein.

[20] For further discussion, see Gross 1980.

related health risks, dying an average of ten years earlier than men.[21] In addition, they bore the brunt of the high incidence of infant morbidity and mortality; one-third of their children did not survive beyond age five (Meyers 1988: 112–113). These brutal facts meant that women were much more often in need of medico-magical help than were the men in their communities (Nakhai in press a, in press b).[22]

Furthermore, women's ability to travel was limited by myriad responsibilities. Work generally kept women close to home.[23] While men's work most often took place in fields, orchards, pasturage, or other locations outside the residential compound, women used interior spaces, roofs, and courtyards for their domestic activities. Ethnographic studies indicate that tasks such as spinning, weaving and sewing, grinding grain and preparing food, cooking, and more were done by women from contiguous households, working cooperatively, as the needs of the day or the desires of the workers required or permitted (Graham-Brown 1980: 56–60; Amiry and Tamari 1989: 15–25). In addition, home was the locus for the continual cycle of pregnancy, childbirth, nursing, and childcare. Whether suffering medical emergencies or attending to those of others, home was the place in which women managed their reproductive problems.

Although the nuclear family was the primary unit residing in the four-room house, those within the close-knit extended family had access to each other's homes, creating a network of individuals who shared household responsibilities and activities. C. Meyers has stressed the heterarchical nature of Israelite society and of the Israelite household (2006 and references therein). What this means is that women and men assumed complementary positions in areas of specialization,

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[21] For a discussion of differential life spans among women engaged in different occupations, and between men and women, as found in the archaeological record, see Martin 2000.

[22] For a study of women who enact religious rituals similarly concerned with health and reproduction, in this instance in a Muslim village in southwestern Iran, see Friedl 1980: 163–164. There are numerous other ethnographic studies that underscore the same point.

[23] Biblical (Ruth 2; but note that Ruth was widowed and childless) and ethnographic (Graham-Brown 1980: 49–54; 1988: 147–148; Amiry and Tamari 1989: 34–40) sources indicate that some women worked in the fields, most commonly at the harvests staggered throughout the agricultural year. However, the bulk of their work took place within the home, the residential compound, and the village, where the tasks of supplying water, preparing food, managing the household, and caring for children took most of their time (Granqvist 1947: 159; Graham-Brown 1988: 147–148; Amiry and Tamari 1989: 15–25).

for which they were afforded prestige or social status. These specializations required training, as a result of which individuals were "credentialed," as it were, to oversee and perform tasks essential to the physical and/or spiritual wellbeing of their communities. Priest, prophet, metal smith, potter, soldier, musician, midwife, healer—for all these jobs and more, people organized themselves in informal ways or in formal guilds, training, working, and gaining status from their labors (Meyers 1999).

Much has been made of the "egalitarian" structure of the four-room house (Dever 2003). Most recently, S. Bunimovitz and A. Faust claimed that this house type reflected the mental template of the Israelite mindset (2003a, 2003b). In particular, they refer to the layout of the house, in which all interior rooms could be accessed through the central chamber or interior courtyard. This stands in contrast to what they call the hierarchical floor plan of the MB–LB courtyard house, in which access to some rooms was restricted by their position deep within the building. Without further arguing the point, let me suggest how this functional "egalitarianism" might have been an important element in women's lives and in their personal form of family religion. As noted above, Israel's social structure was heterarchical, meaning that both men and women had control over their own areas of specialization. In consequence of their authority within the household, women organized and managed the space in which they worked and lived (Baadsgaard 2008; Cassuto 2008; Ebeling and Homan 2008). The four-room house afforded them opportunities for privacy, by virtue of the fact that access to any room could be restricted without interfering with ongoing domestic tasks and family activities. Such privacy permitted women to retire to a secluded space within the house when necessary, in particular for reasons related to the reproductive cycle, while allowing them to maintain their crucial domestic responsibilities.[24]

What might matters of heterarchy and household structure mean in terms of family religion? Reproduction was a "woman's world" and it was women who were the specialists in this world. Midwifery, the knowledge of matters relating to childbearing, is the kind of specialization to which Meyers refers in her discussions of heterarchy and

[24] For Bunimovitz and Faust, such privacy facilitated the observance of Levitical purity laws (2003a, 2003b), but the detailed code of Leviticus need not be assumed for the concept of purity to be considered.

of the guilds in which some women trained and worked. The Israelite midwife had knowledge of birthing procedures, medicinal herbs that helped with delivery and recovery, and remedies to use when things went wrong. In addition, she was trained in the chanting of blessings and incantations and the proper use of amulets and other apotropaic objects employed to invoke Divine intercession and ensure the safe delivery of healthy babies (Scurlock 1991; Willett 2008).[25] In this way, her expertise was twofold, medical and ritual. Experienced women, those who were older, who had borne more children and survived to raise them, were the ones most likely to become midwives. Within the context of Iron Age Israel, these women were most likely to have been the matriarchs of their extended families.

As a body, this evidence suggests that home was the place in which reproductive rituals were enacted, that it was women who were in charge of these rituals, and that the enactment of these rituals was not restricted to a single location within the four-room house. Rather, women chose from any number of spaces, dependent upon availability and need. The objects that they used for reproductive rituals and rituals to invoke good health included pillar-base figurines, amulets, Bes figures, beads and pendants, shells, lamps, model chairs, special clothing, specially chosen colors, and more (see, inter alia, Meyers 2005: 29–35). J. Holladay's 1987 study identified cultic objects in close to half the Iron II houses at Tell Beit Mirsim, Beersheba, Lachish, and Hazor but both he and R. Kletter (1996) point out that a number of houses lacked pillar-base figurines or other cultic paraphernalia. The absence of this material might be due to the vagaries of the archaeological record, or to discard patterns, or to the fact that women could carry these sorts of small and important objects with them when they left home (see Gen. 31: 19, 33–35, for a woman taking cult statues with her as she moved from natal to marital home). At the same time, the fact that religious ephemera are not only associated with the household shrines of the family elders, which are found in a limited number of houses, but are also found in many other locations in Israelite houses, results from the fact that women were so often engaged in domestic rituals concerned with childbearing and related health issues (Nakhai 2007).

[25] For midwives in Babylon and Israel, see Stol 2000: 171–181.

Concluding Remarks

To summarize, ritual acts took place at home, in ways that reflected the two main elements of Israelite life, subsistence and the domestic economy, and reproduction and health. In general, although not without exception, matters relating to subsistence and the domestic economy were attended to at the household shrine, located in the home of the familial elders within the multiroom residential compound. It can be identified by its specialized constellation of built space and cultic contents. On the other hand, matters relating to reproduction and health were handled within the individual home, using religious ephemera identified by their unique characteristics. While both men and women engaged in worship at the household shrine of the family elders, much other family religion, given the intimate nature of its concerns, remained within the purview of women.

A PROBLEM OF DEFINITION: "CULTIC" AND "DOMESTIC" CONTEXTS IN PHILISTIA*

Michael D. Press

The purpose of this paper is to work toward an approach for the problem of identifying domestic cult. In order to do this, I will first survey the problem of identifying cultic contexts more generally, and specifically the identification of large-scale cultic buildings such as temples. There are two reasons for this approach. First, most of the attention given to the problem of cult identification has focused on the latter issue. Second, while the problems of identifying temples and domestic cult contexts are ultimately distinct, they involve some of the same basic issues. Thus, the general problem of identifying cultic contexts provides an appropriate starting point.

The Problem

The difficult nature of identifying loci of cult in the archaeological record has long been acknowledged. As Rast (1994: 355) points out, there is a deep tradition in the archaeological literature of the southern Levant of stating this difficulty, going back at least to H. G. May (1935: 1). It is therefore surprising to observe the frequency with which publications of cultic sites have provided no justification for their identification. A survey of the literature shows that publications of such well-known cultic contexts as the Lachish Fosse Temples (Tufnell et al. 1940), the Arad temple (Aharoni 1968; Herzog et al. 1984), and the Qasile temples (Mazar 1980) include no discussion of how

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these buildings are to be recognized as temples.[1] On the other hand, discussions of the problems of identification can be found in the presentation of more controversial cultic loci (e.g., the Lachish "Solar Shrine" [Tufnell 1953: 141–145] and Aharoni's reconstructed cult place at Beersheba [Aharoni 1972: 123–127; 1973: 13–18]). It appears, therefore, that in the previous examples the cultic nature of the buildings was seen as self-evident.[2]

To my knowledge, the first systematic critique of cultic identifications was made by Chester McCown (1950). McCown not only reviewed specific cases of cultic identifications (for instance, the interpretation of the entire city of Megiddo Stratum V as a sacred area by the excavators), but the more general tendency to identify any unusual or unexplained artifacts or buildings as "cultic" in nature. For McCown, most artifacts could not safely be identified as "cult objects," with the exception of the limestone horned "incense altar" (1950: 210). He concluded that most other objects usually judged to be cultic, such as pottery "model shrines," censers, ceramic and bronze stands, chalices, and cup-and-saucer combinations, could just as easily have served secular functions, and were perhaps luxury objects. Bronze and clay figurines, meanwhile, were determined to have "religio-magical significance" (1950: 214), but as part of "domestic rites" (1950: 215). McCown even made some positive suggestions for identifying cultic structures, specifically based on a combination of their plan, "cult remains" (special artifacts and animal bones), and continuity of unique buildings in the area (1950: 208).

Questioning of cultic identifications increased in the 1970s and 1980s. These critiques tended to be particularist, focusing on individual sites. S. Yeivin (1973), for instance, reevaluated the identification of temples and cultic buildings at Taʿanach, ʿAi, Arad, and Lachish. Ottosson, in his survey of cult places (1980), reanalyzed Jerusalem Cave 1 and even the Lachish Fosse Temples as secular contexts; he also

[1] I do not necessarily mean to question the identification of any of these buildings as temples; I am merely remarking on a basic problem of methodology in these publications.

[2] It should be noted that the studies referred to above predated important theoretical work by Processualist archaeologists, particularly Renfrew's influential publication of the Phylakopi sanctuary (1985). The impact of such work is evident in the archaeology of cult in the southern Levant, as over the past two decades, publications of cult places have more consistently addressed the identification problem, even if only in a cursory manner (see below).

underlined the need for a general critical attitude toward cultic identifications, emphasizing the characteristic of a temenos as common to temples (1980: 9–10). Perhaps most significantly, M. D. Fowler's 1979 dissertation formed the basis for a series of articles in the early 1980s (1981, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b) articulating a relatively systematic critique of cultic identifications. Part of this critique consisted of reevaluation of specific cultic contexts (e.g., several at Tell el-Farʿah [Fowler 1981], the Shechem Migdal Temple [Fowler 1983], and the Taʿanach Cultic Structure [Fowler 1984a]). At the same time, Fowler questioned some of the bases for cultic identifications more generally, in particular the inherently cultic nature of specific artifact types. Much of Fowler's work had, in fact, been anticipated by McCown, including his skepticism toward unique objects; Fowler did, however, investigate certain classes of artifacts more thoroughly, notably figurines (1985a) and "incense burners" (1984b, 1985b).

In order to demonstrate the difficulties in using artifacts for cultic identification, I will briefly discuss the problem of figurines. I have chosen them for two reasons: first, they are the artifact class most commonly cited in the literature as an automatic indicator of cult (cf. Fowler 1985a: 333); and, second, they are the artifacts with which I have worked most closely. Typically, figurines have been interpreted as cultic objects or amulets (for a survey of interpretations, see Kletter 1996: 73–81). Starting in the late 1960s, however, detailed surveys of ethnographic literature on figurines—especially by Ucko (1968) and Voigt (1983: esp. 186–187)—have illuminated the wide range of functions that figurines can in fact have. Thus, Voigt (1983: 186) suggested five broad functional categories for figurines: cult figures, vehicles of magic, didactic tools, toys, and representations of the deceased. Within these broad categories, there is much further possibility for variety of function. This variety can be demonstrated by examining a few specific examples from the Near East and Aegean, where we have clear indications of function from contextual, iconographic, and textual evidence:

1. Neo-Assyrian *apkallu* figurines: At a number of Assyrian sites (e.g., Nimrud, Khorsabad, Nineveh, and Assur), several types of clay figurines (including a human figure with a bird's head, a "bearded warrior" with spear painted on the body, and a bearded figure with a fish hood on its head) have been found, typically under the floors of palaces (Mallowan 1954; Oates 1959; Green 1983). Most correspond in

type to figures found on wall reliefs from Assyrian palaces, although the two types of representations are generally not found together. At the same time, a number of texts have been found describing the manufacture of these figurines (Wiggermann 1992), matching the excavated figurines in great detail. The texts indicate that the figurines were apotropaic, used for protection of rooms of the palace.

2. Greek mourning figurines: From a few Mycenaean sites in the twelfth century, and again from the Late Geometric period and especially the Archaic, we have a type of figurine representing a woman holding her hands to the hand (and, less commonly, other gestures such as hands to the cheek or the breast) (see Iakovidis 1966; Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Dothan 1982: 244). These figurines are always, or almost always, found in tombs. Similar figures are depicted on other items from burials, such as Mycenaean larnakes (e.g., Vermeule 1965; Iakovidis 1966: 46–49; Cavanagh and Mee 1995: 46–51, 60–61, Figs. 1–10) and various forms of painted pottery from the Late Geometric on (Zschietzschmann 1928; Boardman 1955; Ahlberg 1971; Cavanagh and Mee 1995: 51–55). The iconography of the painted scenes, together with the contexts, suggests that the figurines are mourning figurines—used as a symbol of continuing mourning for the deceased after burial. This conclusion is further strengthened by references to mourning gestures, paralleling those found in the figurines almost exactly, in Greek literature (for surveys, see Mylonas 1963: 476; Ahlberg 1971: esp. 264–65; Immerwahr 1995: 110).
3. Egyptian ushabtis: Made of various materials (clay, stone, wood, or faience), these objects were common in tombs from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. Their contexts, along with textual and other iconographic evidence, make their function clear: they served as stand-ins for the deceased, to perform manual labor in the afterlife (see, e.g., D'Auria et al. 1992).
4. Egyptian faience figurines: While the find contexts of these artifacts are not as distinctive as those of the other objects above, their iconography, occasional inscriptional evidence, and physical features (their small size and, commonly, piercing) suggest a common function to most if not all examples—they were amulets to be worn for protection (see, e.g., Herrmann 2003: esp. 2). Note that, while deities such as Bes and Isis are represented, they do not function as cultic; rather, the deities are chosen for their appropriateness for protection.

I have selected these examples because they are some of the best cases known to me where the function of the figurines is clear, from a combination of different types of evidence. In none of these cases can the figurines be said to be strictly cultic. Instead, they serve as protective figures, grave goods, servants—at most, they can be said to be religious only in a broad sense (see below).

Therefore, while figurines can in some instances be cultic (there are of course cases where figurines are found as votive objects in sanctuaries for example), such an interpretation can by no means be assumed. For Mycenaean figurines, French (1981b: 173) has in fact concluded that figurine function must be determined from context, and not vice versa (cf. Tzonou-Herbst 2002: esp. 18; Nilsson 1968: 307–309). This conclusion has significant implications, for figurines are the objects most commonly assumed to be strictly cultic in nature. As a result, the need for a more rigorous methodology for cultic identification is clear.

Suggestions toward a Solution

Given the above outlining of the problem—in short, the lack of a clear methodology for identifying cultic activity (of any type, let alone domestic cult specifically)—we can now begin to address it. Originally, in approaching this problem I had hoped to provide a more definitive methodological statement. In recent years there has been a wealth of attention given to the archaeology of religion and cult generally,[3] and these provide a wide array of methodological approaches. At the same time, this array is so wide that it becomes hard to single out an effective method or set of methods, or even to be sure if scholars are addressing the same problem. As a result, my goal here is simply to work *toward* a solution, by making a set of methodological suggestions.

Defining Definitions

The first suggestion, which serves as an initial step in the process, is to define basic terms. For the identification of cult, the three terms I will

[3] The literature is too vast to cite in full here, but note especially a series of recent conference volumes on the subject: e.g., Biehl et al. 2001; Insoll 2004; Kyriakidis 2007d; Barrowclough and Malone 2007; Rowan forthcoming.

be concerned with are *religion, ritual*, and *cult*. Commonly, in studies of religion of ancient Israel, one or more of these terms is insufficiently defined. In addition, I believe that many archaeological analyses and methodological discussions of "cultic" contexts are weakened specifically by their unclear or contradictory definitions of these terms (see below; cf. Darcque 2005: 294).

For example, Dever has written a series of articles (e.g., 1983, 1987, 1994) and a book (2005) on the subject of ancient Israelite religion yet has little general discussion of methodological issues. Nevertheless, he does at times provide a theoretical treatment of religion (esp. 2005: 1–31; also 1983: 572). In these treatments, he briefly summarizes definitions of "religion," based on those of anthropologists and biblical scholars (especially Z. Zevit), and highlights key concepts (Dever 2005: 1–2). Dever, however, draws a simple dichotomy between "theology" and "cult," paralleling his distinction between "belief" and "practice" (and other dichotomies, such as "official" vs. "popular" religion) (Dever 2005: 5–6). Besides limiting cult to "popular" religion, and divorcing theology and belief from it, Dever leaves no room for any type of religious ritual (a term he does not define) beyond cult.

Zevit provides an extended discussion of religion and an attempt at definition (2001: esp. 11–17). Nevertheless, despite dealing with methodological issues about "cult practice" and "cult places" (2001: 81–84), and defining a set of terms related to cult (*cult place, cult room, cult corner, cult cave, cult complex, cult center*, and *cult site*; 2001: 124–125), nowhere does Zevit define "cult" itself (or ritual).

Before continuing, it will be necessary for me to briefly define, or indicate what I mean by, the terms *religion, ritual*, and *cult*. It will of course be impossible to arrive at "definitive" definitions of these terms. In fact, in highlighting this definitional problem, some influential scholars (for example in ritual studies) have argued against the focus on definitions altogether (Goody 1961, 1977; Bell 2007). I believe, however, that such explicit definitions are helpful, and even necessary, for two basic reasons: First, they are necessary in each individual study, so that the reader can understand what the author means. Terms such as those under consideration here can be especially susceptible to multiple meanings, and so the use of general "pointers" at least (cf. Rappaport 1999: 23), if not precise definitions, becomes essential. Second, on a more general level, we as scholars need a common vocabulary, as opposed to having our own personal sets of definitions, so that we can have a dialogue, so that if we debate whether

something is "cultic," we can be certain that we are discussing the same thing—that we are having a substantive discussion rather than simply a semantic one (cf. Kyriakidis 2007a: 289). (At the same time, Bell's comments [2007: 283] on the futility of trying to arrive at a common definition are to some extent valid; I would therefore view the first of the two reasons above as more fundamental.) Moreover, these definitions should not merely be academic exercises, but valid working statements with some analytical utility in the specific study in question.

For the purposes of this study, I will define *religion* by repeating the definition of Zevit (2001: 15), who modifies that of Cavanagh (1978: 16–19), for "Israelite religions": "the varied, symbolic expressions of, and appropriate responses to the deities and powers that groups or communities deliberately affirmed as being of unrestricted value to them within their worldview." I do not necessarily agree entirely with this (or any other) specific definition of religion, but use it for its "pointing" value with concepts such as deities/powers, symbolic expressions and responses, and worldview. As for *ritual*, I will follow Rappaport's definition as "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers" (1999: 24). While Bell, as noted above, has advocated against an actual definition of "ritual," she has formulated six characteristics of "ritual-like activities" (1997: 38), which follow those suggested by Rappaport's definition: formalism, traditionalism, disciplined invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance. While Bell, among others, has suggested that ritual is principally, if not exclusively, religious in nature (1997: 94; 2007: 278), many others have suggested that ritual can describe both religious and secular behavior (e.g., Rappaport 1999: 25; cf. Kyriakidis 2007b: 6 n. 2). In addition, even among religious ritual there is a wide variety of practice. *Cult*, then, would best be limited in scope not just specifically to religious ritual, but to ritual involved with worship of a deity.

In trying to identify cultic practice in the archaeological record, we can use the above definitions and concepts to suggest at least two types of behavior to look for (i.e., behavior whose material correlates we should look for) archaeologically:

1. Habitual activity (as opposed to one-time activity). This type of behavior is suggested by the characteristics of invariance and formalism noted above. We might therefore expect an accumulation

of similar types of artifacts in a cultic context, as well as for the same cluster of artifacts and features to be repeated in different cultic contexts within a cultural area.
2. Actual act of worship. Cultic practice, based on the definition above, would only be a subset of all religious practice or ritual. Therefore, something may be reflective of religious ideals, a symbol or reminder, or be related to observance of life-cycle events (such as death), and not be cultic.

Defining Analogies

In his archaeological analysis of ancient Israelite religion, Holladay writes: "All archaeological interpretation necessarily proceeds, in one manner or another, on the basis of ethnographic analogy" (1987: 250). While much archaeological argument might not be characterized as "ethnographic," I would otherwise agree completely with Holladay's statement. In any analysis that we as archaeologists perform, we are constantly comparing artifacts and features to something else; but to what? Is the basis of our analogy ethnographic? Is it ethnohistorical? Is it anecdotal? Is it based on something from the specific culture in question, or from cultures proximate in space or time, or is it drawn entirely from the imagination? In my view, such analogies must be made explicit, so that their validity can be evaluated by other scholars—and by the authors themselves.

Defining Methods

In order to arrive at suggestions toward an actual method, we must first survey (briefly) the methods that have already been suggested for identifying cult. Unlike the earlier work on the archaeology of religion of the southern Levant, discussed above, several studies over the last two decades have made such statements of method. These statements can be categorized in two broad groups: those using a hypothetico-deductive method, and those using an inductive method. To simplify somewhat, the former use a list of characteristics identified in cult generally and test them on a specific case; the latter eschew any such generalizations, but instead try to identify cult on a case-by-case basis through knowledge of the specific culture.

Hypothetico-deductive Methods

Coogan (1987) made one of the earliest explicit statements of a method for identifying a cultic context, at least for southern Levantine archaeology. He proposed four basic criteria (when textual evidence is lacking): isolation, exotic materials, continuity, and parallels (1987: 2–3). Coogan also suggested that the criteria be used in terms of probability: the more criteria satisfied by a given context, the likelier it would be that the context is cultic. In fact, there is nothing really new in Coogan's criteria themselves. As mentioned above, McCown (1950: 208) briefly highlighted the characteristics of "cult remains," continuity, and plan (if not explicitly parallels in plan); and Ottosson (1980: 9–10) emphasized a temenos, separating the sacred from the secular, as a key characteristic of temples. In addition, these criteria in some form were used to make most of the identifications of cultic contexts in the archaeological record; the explicit, systematic statement of these criteria, however, marks Coogan's study as different.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental problem with Coogan's presentation: while the criteria are explicit, their basis is not; nor is the definition of the term "cult" stated. At certain points Coogan gives examples of cultic contexts for different characteristics, but these are in fact often drawn from archaeology—in other words, their cultic character is generally not certain, but has only been determined through the use of such criteria, which Coogan is now using to prove cultic nature of contexts. For the criterion of continuity, Coogan does provide modern, proven examples from Damascus and Jerusalem. Overall, the number of examples is not extensive, and often Coogan uses them in a circular fashion—both as examples to prove a specific criterion, and then as illustrations of the overall set of criteria.

In his publication of the Phylakopi sanctuary, Renfrew (1985) provides the most detailed and comprehensive review of the problems of cultic identification. The study is notable both for its introductory essay, which attempts to establish a framework for identifying and understanding cult archaeologically (1985: 11–26), and for an evaluation of the proposed sanctuary according to this framework after a presentation of the evidence (1985: 361–391). Beyond these elements, Renfrew's Phylakopi publication is significant for the influence it has had on discussion of the nature of cult and its identification in the archaeological record. Significant studies of cultic contexts have followed Renfrew's framework, on mainland Greece (Pilafidis-Williams

1998; Morgan 1999; Moore and Taylour 1999; Konsolaki 2002), Crete (Mersereau 1993: 17–18; Prent 2005), and Cyprus (Bolger 1992: 150–152; Smith 1997; Webb 1999: 13–15 for discussion, but not direct application). For the Levant, the only direct applications of Renfrew's framework (to my knowledge) are Levy's for the site of Gilat (2006) and (to a lesser extent) Zevit's survey of Iron Age cult places in Israel (2001: 125–247); discussions or references of varying lengths, however, have been provided by Gilmour (1995: 5–6), Frick (2000: 12–14), Zevit (2001: 82–83), and Dothan (2003: 191).

In the treatments mentioned above, Renfrew's framework is generally applied without comment, or else modified for application on types of cultic sites other than temples. It would therefore be worthwhile to evaluate that framework briefly. Throughout his introductory essay, Renfrew emphasizes explicitness: for him, "each step in the argument must be open to examination" (1985: 11). He provides clear definitions of the three key terms identified above: *religion, ritual*, and *cult*. For Renfrew, ritual can be both religious and secular; cult is specifically related to the ritual of religious worship (1985: 14–15). The heart of Renfrew's analysis is his formulation of "aspects of sacred ritual" (1985: 16–17), involving "frequent features of cult practice," considered "on a cross-cultural basis": the asymmetrical relationship of worship, offerings, a special location (either natural or built), and a focus of attention. He then produces a set of 18 behavioral correlates of these concepts (1985: 18–19), which might be reflected in the archaeological record. Throughout, Renfrew is cautious, noting various potential flaws in his framework: for instance, he observes that these correlates could identify not only cultic activity, but also secular ritual, or even nonritual symbolic systems (1985: 20). This caution and self-criticism are an additional characteristic that recommends Renfrew's presentation.

Ultimately, however, Renfrew's discussion exhibits some of the same problems found in other discussions. One is that his definitions, while explicit, are not consistently applied. For instance, while Renfrew's definitions suggest differentiation between cultic and other types of religious ritual, his subsequent discussion conflates the two, suggesting that all religious ritual is cultic (cf. Darcque 2005: 294). Thus, the Agia Triada Sarcophagus, while interpreted by Renfrew as funerary ritual and not worship, is still labeled as cultic "in the broad sense" (1985: 25). This conclusion therefore leads to confusion in both his correlates and his analysis, as it is unclear exactly what he means

by arguing for something as "cultic." In addition, while Renfrew suggests that the features of cult that he outlines are found frequently and cross-culturally, he in fact gives no explicit basis or examples for these features. He routinely characterizes these features as occurring "[i]n most societies" or as "commonly used," but nowhere does he justify such statements. In terms of both of the suggestions I have made so far toward a solution for identifying cult—explicit definitions and explicit analogies—Renfrew's discussion, while admirable, is ultimately lacking.

Inductive Methods

Some scholars have criticized Renfrew from a Post-Processualist perspective. Even among these, however, there is common acknowledgment that Renfrew's study is an advancement over typical discussions of identifying cult (e.g., Vella 2000: 29–30; Darcque 2005: 294). Some have rejected Renfrew's "trait-list approach" (Begg 1991: 9) and his attempt to generate overgeneralized rules (Begg 1991: 9–10; Hodder 1992: 152; Vella 2000: 30). Thus, in critiquing Renfrew's framework, such scholars have emphasized the need to focus instead on the evidence within the context of the particular culture in question (Begg 1991: 10; Hodder 1992: 152; Darcque 2005: 295). As an alternative to Renfrew's framework, Vella, building on the work of Hodder, has advocated one based on "a logical process wherein there is a double movement from data to interpretation and back again, where an argument is cumulative" (2000: 30). This is similar to the hermeneutic method advocated for an archaeological application by Schloen (2001), as well as to the art-historical method of Erwin Panofsky (e.g., Panofsky 1955).

Warren, meanwhile, has suggested that Renfrew's analysis is ultimately not deductive but in fact inductive (1986: 155). A similar observation has been made by Hodder (1992: 152). While Renfrew tries to set up objective, general criteria by which Phylakopi can be recognized as a sanctuary, he must in the end resort to comparison with other similar structures from the Late Bronze Aegean—what Hodder labels as a "hermeneutic position" (1992: 152). Hodder has further argued that most archaeological argument is in fact not "positivist hypothesis-testing" at all, but rather hermeneutics (1992: 213). As an alternative, Hodder proposes his own model for dealing with the potential viciousness of the hermeneutic circle (1992: 213–240). In the end, however, I find it hard to detect serious differences between Hodder's model and

the hypothetico-deductive method that Hodder believes to be largely illusory: whereas Hodder states that most archaeological analysis is hermeneutic, I would suggest that Hodder's model is merely a slightly modified hypothetico-deductive method. Beyond recognizing that archaeologists begin their analyses with some prior knowledge and assumptions about the material in question, and recognizing the possibility for shifts in interpretation and questions during the process of analysis, Hodder's model simply moves from questions to excavation to data analysis to interpretation to consideration of other sites (1992: Fig. 22)—in the general manner of a deductive approach.

Perhaps, then, we might acknowledge that no suggested method for dealing with the interpretive problem of identifying cultic contexts is purely deductive or purely inductive. Elements of both approaches are used, consciously or not, in each archaeologist's approach. A demonstration of this hybridization is provided by Holladay's (1987) analysis of the religion of Israel and Judah in Iron II. Holladay proposes a model (1987: 266–269) of the types of religious groups and the types of cultic contexts associated with each, which we might expect in the Iron II Levant. The model is only presented, however, after the evidence from the presumed cultic contexts is investigated (252–265); moreover, his analysis of the data and classification of these contexts (270–274) are not based on objective criteria derived from the model itself, but from an inductive comparison of the different contexts to each other. In fact, Holladay himself states at the outset that his overall approach in the essay (not exactly that of the analysis of cultic contexts just described) moves between inductive and hypothetico-deductive reasoning (1987: 251).

I believe that, to deal with a complex interpretive problem such as identification of cultic contexts, it is best (if not necessary) to take advantage of both deductive and inductive methods. On the one hand, the archaeologist should use generalizing observations, based on ethnographic and ethnohistorical information, to set the boundaries and general principles (to "calibrate" the evidence, as Kyriakidis [2007c: 20] has put it). On the other, the archaeologist should investigate cultic contexts in the specific culture in question, or—if there is no sufficient evidence—those of neighboring contemporary cultures, or immediately antecedent or subsequent cultures that display some relationship—as long as this latter material is used cautiously. I recognize that a proper application of this approach would require a comprehensive study of cultic contexts cross-culturally—something that is not feasible

for researchers investigating questions on specific cultures, and something (to my knowledge) that has not been accomplished in anthropology, although such a general study would be a valuable grounding for particularist analyses. These suggestions, then, are meant as general principles to be applied only to the extent possible.

Summary of Methodological Suggestions

To summarize the methodological discussion above, there are a few suggestions I would draw for approaching the problem of identifying cultic contexts:

1. *Explicit definitions:* I do not necessarily recommend the ones suggested here, but simply the principle of making clear statements of definition.
2. *Explicit analogies:* It is essential to state clearly the comparisons that serve as the basis of our interpretations, whatever those comparisons are.
3. *A suggested approach to analogies:* Beyond the suggestion of explicit comparisons, I would further suggest that both generalizing and particularist comparisons be used: first cross-cultural ones, based on ethnographic and ethnohistoric data, in order to "calibrate the evidence"; then, those from the specific culture, or closely related ones.

The Problem of Domestic Cult

Having addressed some basic issues of identifying cultic contexts, we can now move to look specifically at domestic cult. The term *domestic* might seem, at least superficially, to be more straightforward. Nevertheless, its precise place in the dichotomy of "official" vs. "popular" religion—or of "public" vs. "private", or of "elite" vs. "non-elite"—is in fact not a simple one. Quite simply, these dichotomies, though often used interchangeably (see, for instance, Dever 2005: 5–6), are not identical; for instance, the houses of the "elite" might be loci of cult, which would be just as "domestic" as that of "non-elite" houses. This is not the place to review in detail the development of scholarship on official and popular religion (for detailed surveys, see especially the work of Berlinerblau [1993, 1996: 17–43; 2001]) For now, it is sufficient to note

that recent literature on this topic has suggested a move away from a simple dichotomy toward a more diverse categorization of cult.[4] It would be best, then, to understand "domestic" cult as acts of worship situated in the house (of whatever type of house), i.e., at the lowest level of social organization.

While there has been a growth in interest in domestic and "popular" religion in theoretical discussions over the last few decades, few attempts have been made to develop methods for identifying domestic cult archaeologically. Renfrew's extensive essay on cult identification includes only a brief section on domestic cult practice (1985: 22–23), presumably because his main concern was with the Phylakopi sanctuary. He suggests that, while the four main aspects of religious ritual he has identified should still be found in a domestic setting, there may be lower degrees of "separateness" and "specialization" than those found in communal cult, and a more modest scale. Gilmour (1995: 12, 16) echoes these concerns. He formulates a set of five characteristics that set "household" cult apart from "public" cult: the context is not exclusively cultic; the "cult-specific artifacts" are fewer and simpler; the scale is smaller; continuity of cult is unlikely; and "folk" deities and "unconventional forms" might be expected (Gilmour 1995: 16). Neither Renfrew nor Gilmour, however, provides any examples or summary of data to support these generalizations. As a result, while these generalizations may appear sensible, they can be taken as little more than speculative.

The lack of clear methodological frameworks is reflected in the proposals of specific domestic cult contexts in the southern Levant. A good example can be seen in the spatial analysis of activity in an Iron Age house at Tell Halif (Hardin 2004). While the presentation as a whole

[4] To note a few examples briefly: Albertz (most recently 2008: 94; also 1978, 1994: esp. 19) has proposed a model with three types or levels of religious activity: state religion, family religion, and local religion; he suggests (2008: 94) that these essentially correspond to Holladay's (1987: 268–269) model of "established worship" on national/town and neighborhood levels, alongside "tolerated nonconformist worship." Wallace's general anthropological model of four levels of cult institutions: individual, shamanic, communal, and ecclesiastical (1966: 84–101, esp. 86–88), has been adapted by Wright (1994: 72–73) to a hierarchy of Mycenaean sites. For Israelite religion, Zevit (2003: 230–233) has suggested that cultic activities were associated with each of the nested kinship groups in society—the individual, the "father's house" (*beit ʾav*), the clan, the tribe, and the people. Thus, recent scholarship has recast the dichotomy of "official" and "popular" religion as a hierarchy of multiple levels, with persons fully capable of participating in more than one.

is fairly successful, the reconstruction of part of the "living room" as a cultic area (Hardin 2004: 76–77, 79; see also Borowski 1995: 148, 151) is questionable. The entire assemblage of "cultic" finds from this area of the room is two large worked stones, a fenestrated stand fragment, and a pillar figurine head. Besides the small quantity and fragmentary nature of the finds, suggesting that they are not in primary use context, the artifacts themselves are not unquestionably "cultic" (or otherwise religious) in nature.[5] Similarly, the cult corner suggested by Herr in a house at Tall al-ʿUmayri (2006) is based on meager evidence of ambiguous nature (such as standing stones). Gadot and Yasur-Landau, on the other hand, suggest that domestic cult in the Megiddo Level K-4 courtyard building was spread throughout the house (2006: 591), but they make use of the same basic arguments: in this case, supposed "ritual" objects (figurines, stone stelae, a ceramic stand, and special ceramic forms) were not concentrated in any specific area of the house but found throughout.

The finds from a series of Iron Age houses at Tall Jawa (Daviau 2001) are more substantial. Schmitt (2008: 164) and Albertz (2008: 95–96) have both pointed to the impressiveness of the "domestic cult assemblages" found here, and Schmitt states that they have caused him to reinterpret the cultic nature of Ashdod Area D (2008: 164). Despite the larger scale of these finds, however, the interpretation of the Jawa material, again, ultimately rests on questionable arguments. While Daviau tries to define a typical Ammonite domestic cultic assemblage on the basis of the Jawa material, the reports of the excavations (Daviau 2003; also 2002) do not report that the objects were found in any clear association, but that one or two such objects (figurines, ceramic stands, etc.) might occur in a room mixed with hundreds of sherds of pottery, several grindstones, and other apparently utilitarian objects. In the end, the domestic cult assemblage of Jawa is essentially defined on the basis of the unique or unusual objects found in each house, objects that are labeled "cultic" with little further discussion.

The above discussion points to the need for clear methods of domestic cult identification. As with the identification of cultic contexts generally, if we are to employ generalizations in any form to identify

[5] For the figurines and ceramic stands sometimes having noncultic functions, see discussion and references above. The worked stones are suggested to be *masseboth*, but the shape of the stones is unusual; in addition, standing stones appear to have had a variety of functions, including noncultic ones (Graesser 1972).

domestic cult (as advocated by Renfrew and Gilmour) we must start with some sort of objective criteria. Ethnographic and ethnohistorical data need to be investigated and compared in order to identify basic problems, trends, and possibilities in domestic cult practice. As a start, I will attempt to demonstrate how such data might be used below: I will use one modern example and two from the ancient world. In particular, I will pay attention to the types of issues highlighted by Renfrew and Gilmour. For the purposes of this demonstration, their suggestions can be stated as two basic questions:

1. Are there dedicated objects in domestic cult?
2. Are there dedicated cult places in the house?

In fact, Renfrew (1985: 22) suggests that both conditions must be met in order to identify cult practice within the house.

1) In a modern Jewish home, a series of religious objects might regularly be stored or on display, for example in a hutch or on shelves in the living room: a *kiddush* cup, *shabbat* candle holders, a menorah (*hanukkiyah*), a *seder* plate, etc. At the time of the appropriate calendrical rituals, these objects are taken out and brought to other parts of the house—most likely the dining room, but perhaps also to the kitchen, to another part of the living room, etc.—to be used there. Meanwhile, other rituals (especially those performed by more observant Jews) might be performed elsewhere in the house, such as recitation of prayers (e.g., *Modeh Ani*, in bed), or putting on *tallit* and *tefillin* before going to services.

From this example, we see that many rituals may have special objects associated with them, but others may not—or may not have objects associated with them at all (such as prayer). As for a dedicated place, this may be more problematic. The area of concentration of ritual objects is not one of performance but of display or storage. Meanwhile, although the performance of religious rituals may tend to cluster in a specific room of the house (such as the dining room), many or even most rooms may see some religious ritual. On top of this, we may note that even the area with the greatest concentration of ritual performance is not dedicated only—or even primarily—to religious ritual.[6]

[6] For a similar modern example from a very different context, namely Greece, see Kyriakidis 2007c: 18.

This modern example is of course merely a single case, and can hardly be generalized. A much wider range of cultic and other religious ritual examples would need to be studied to provide a proper range of possibilities and trends in ritual performance. Nevertheless, this example raises several issues that can be kept in mind when considering ancient cult and religious ritual. If this diffusion of ritual throughout the house can be true for modern societies, then what of ancient ones, where it is commonly acknowledged that religion was not compartmentalized, but rather a much more essential part of everyday life? On the one hand, we might expect more abundant examples or ritual behavior; at the same time, we might expect religious ritual activities to be even more scattered through the house, and not concentrated in a specific area.[7]

This then leads to the ancient examples:

2) One of the clearest examples of a small-scale, low-level cultic practice in the Hebrew Bible is the baking of cakes for the Queen of Heaven (Jer. 7: 17–18; 44: 15–19, 25). The precise setting of this ritual, or set of rituals, is unclear, although it appears to center on the house as the members of the family are invoked: the children gather the wood, the fathers build the fire, and the women knead dough for

[7] Related to this problem is the identification of "cult corners" in the archaeological record. The term *cult corner* or *cultic corner* was first introduced into Palestinian archaeology by Y. Shiloh in a paper on early Iron II cultic contexts (1979). Shiloh identified a series of tenth-century cult corners in Megiddo, notable among them Locus 2081 (1979: 149). He continued (1979: 150–151, 156) by noting the existence of groups of artifacts (altars, ceramic stands, etc.) similar to those from Megiddo at other sites, such as Lachish and Taʿanach (Lapp's "Cultic Structure"), in order to identify cult corners at the latter sites as well. The cultic nature of these contexts, however, is by no means a consensus view. For example, Yeivin (1973) and Fowler (1984a) both disputed the identification of the "Cultic Structure" as religious in nature, suggesting instead that it was part of a house, with perhaps a kitchen and/or a storeroom. Even Rast (1994), though highly critical of Fowler and Yeivin, provides an interpretation that is not necessarily contradictory: he in fact argues that only the artifacts from the structure are necessarily "cultic," with the "Cultic Structure" itself (and other similar contexts, such as Megiddo Locus 2081) being the house of a priestly family where cultic items from a temple were stored. This interpretation is extremely significant. First, although Rast defends Lapp's label of the building as a "Cultic Structure," this usage would stretch the meaning of the term *cultic* beyond real analytic value (i.e., the context itself would not at all be a locus of "cultic" activity). In addition, even Rast has concluded that the Taʿanach "Cultic Structure" (and Megiddo Locus 2081) is not a "cult corner" but simply a storage area. Thus, some of the very definitional examples of the concept provided by Shiloh are undermined. This is not to say that "cult corners" do not exist in the southern Levant; rather, I only suggest that they need to be clearly proven and not assumed to be a common feature. Gilmour, at least, has gathered some evidence to suggest that cult corners are a fairly universal feature (1995: 15), but more investigation of both generalizing and culture-specific data is needed.

the cakes (Jer. 7: 18). This interpretation, as centering on small family units and the house, has in fact been put forth by several scholars (Ackerman 1999: 27; 2003: 461–464; Zevit 2001: 554–555; Dever 2005: 190–191). It is hard to glean further information on the ritual due to the abbreviated nature of the references. Nevertheless, the items used in this ritual do not, for the most part, seem to be of a unique nature: it involves, as described in Jeremiah, firewood and dough. An exception might be, if we understand the verb *lĕhaʿăṣibāh* in Jeremiah 44:19 to mean "to make in her image," as is commonly done (Ackerman 1999: 26; Zevit 2001: 554; Stager 2000: 7 for further discussion and references), the use of special molds for the dough (Ackerman 1999: 26; Stager 2000). Meanwhile, the evidence for the associated rituals listed, pouring libations and burning incense (Jer. 7: 18; 44: 18–19, 25), is unclear: these cultic acts may or may not have been performed with special items. As for the possible locus of performance within the house, this again is not stated; there is no suggestion of a special location, however, and the preparation and baking of dough would suggest an ordinary oven and kitchen.

3) J. C. Wright (1994: 56–60) suggested modifying Kilian's conception (1988a) of the "*wanax*" ideology to a "hearth-*wanax*" ideology: this term encapsulates the idea that the megaron of the Mycenaean palace, and specifically its central hearth, were a major focus of cult. He further proposed that this cult was in fact a monumental extension of cult rituals conducted in ordinary houses at the hearth. There is, in fact, little direct evidence for cultic activity at these royal hearths (see Darcque 2005: 175). Although he does not explicitly state it (perhaps because the evidence would be well known to many of his readers), Wright is presumably basing this reconstruction of Mycenaean rituals on evidence from historical Greece, when there was a central public hearth and associated state cult of Hestia (at least at Athens), which was an extension of household cult (see, e.g., Nilsson 1972: 72–77; Mikalson 2005: 160). If such rituals can be reconstructed for Mycenaean Greece (a plausible, but by no means certain, suggestion; cf. Darcque 2005: 175–177), then these rituals would not have been the only or even primary use of these rooms. The primary function of the hearth appears to have been for heat and light, with a secondary usage for cooking, particularly in the main room of the house (Shear 1968, 1987: 146; Shaw 1990; Darcque 2005: 175).

These examples, then, suggest that the identification of objects and areas of the house connected with cult may be much less straightforward

than often assumed. I would use them instead to suggest an alternative method of identification of domestic cult: while not ignoring the possibility of dedicated objects or areas of the house, this method would focus on identifying specific cultic *behaviors* in the culture in question, and then, on determining the traces (the material correlates) that these behaviors would leave in the archaeological record. As suggested above, this method would privilege analogies from the culture itself, or (if necessary) from closely related cultures. The two ancient examples above, then, would function well with the proposed application of these methodological suggestions below, to Iron Age Philistia. There is little evidence, in terms of either clear archaeological data or textual data, for Philistine domestic cult practices; as a result, we must turn to neighboring or antecedent/subsequent cultures. For Iron I, this would involve looking especially to Mycenaean Greece (and Cyprus), while for Iron II, the neighboring cultures of Judah, Israel, and Phoenicia would be most appropriate.

Application

We can now turn to the application of the methodological suggestions above, in Iron Age Philistia. There are, in my view, two contexts (or sets of contexts) that can be identified, with fair certainty, as cultic: the seventh-century temple at Ekron (Gitin 2003; Gitin et al. 1997) and the Iron I Qasile temples (Mazar 1980). The Tel Miqne/Ekron structure is quite clearly identified as a temple complex on the basis of an inscription (Gitin et al. 1997). The Qasile structures can be identified as cultic above all through the concentrations of finds on and around a raised platform (Locus 133) in Stratum X (Mazar 1980: 38–39, Fig. 11, pls. 11:3–12:3) and in Pit 125 in Stratum XI (Mazar 1980: 24–25, Table 17).[8] These two concentrations would seem to correspond to behaviors such as leaving votives or other offerings around a platform/altar, and collecting old offerings in a *favissa* (or *bothros*); the latter is not necessarily a cultic ritual itself, but an associated behavior. To these two contexts we can add a third, the *favissa* from Tel Yavneh

[8] Note also that the finds of the pit include the large anthropomorphic vessel (Mazar 1980: 78–81), which, as Mazar notes, might be connected with the terracotta female figures known from some Mycenaean cult sites (see below).

(Ziffer and Kletter 2007). While simply a pit without any identified structures associated (Ziffer and Kletter 2007: 7), the wealth of finds from this context suggests it is the *favissa* from a presumed temple.

Beyond these examples, a number of other contexts have been suggested to be cultic. At Batash, Mazar identified Locus 910a in Area E as a cult corner (1997b: 218, 222, 259). A number of contexts at Ashdod and Miqne have been identified as cultic, most forcefully by T. Dothan (for recent summaries see T. Dothan 2003; 2002; Schmitt 2008; Zevit 2001: 132–142). These range in interpretation from temples (Miqne Buildings 350 and 351) to shrines of various sizes to public buildings or houses with some cultic functions (e.g., the Ashdod Area H complex, including the "apsidal building", from Strata XIII–XII; see T. Dothan 2003: 200–202; M. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 23–25). Many of these structures, however, have been more recently reinterpreted as residences, workshops, or secular public buildings (see esp. Yasur-Landau 2002, Mazow 2005).[9] Their status, then, is unclear, and calls for further analysis.

It is impossible for me to review all of these contexts in detail here. Instead, I will choose two examples with which to test some of the methodological suggestions: Room 16 in Miqne Field INE East Slope, Stratum VIIA Phase 9B (Fig. 1), dating to roughly the middle of the twelfth century (Meehl, Dothan and Gitin 2006: 34–42); and Room 5032 in Ashdod Area H, Stratum XIb (Fig. 2), dating to the early eleventh century (M. Dothan 1971: 159–161; Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 31–34). I have chosen these contexts for two reasons. First, the stratigraphy and architecture of both rooms and their surrounding areas have recently been published in full. In addition, T. Dothan has made a series of cumulative arguments for the cultic nature of several contexts at Miqne and Ashdod, of which Room 16 and its features are part (see, e.g., T. Dothan 2003; 2002; 1998: 155–158). Meanwhile, the finds of figurines in contexts such as Ashdod Room 5032 have been one of the main types of evidence adduced for Philistine domestic cult (e.g., Schmitt 2008, esp. 166–167; Yasur-Landau 2001: 335).

1. *Tel Miqne Room 16 (Fig. 1)*

Room 16 is one of 10 rooms or areas (nos. 9–18) excavated in Field INE East Slope and Sondage, Stratum VIIA Phase 9B (Meehl, Dothan,

[9] See also L. Mazow in this volume.

and Gitin 2006: 34, plans Stratum VIIA 9B4–9B1). The other areas include five rooms (9, 12–14, and 18) interpreted as domestic areas, two large open activity areas (11 and 17) interpreted as industrial areas, two rooms (10 and 16) considered to be cultic, and a passageway (15). Rooms 12–14 and 16–18, and Passageway 15, are adjacent and appear to be part of a single structure. Of these rooms, Room 16 is by far the largest—it is described as "almost double the size of Rooms 13 and 14 together" (Meehl, Dothan, and Gitin 2006: 34). There are three main architectural features of this room, not necessarily all in use at the same time but built and modified over the four subphases of the room: Bench 100021, built against the west wall; Platform/Hearth 100023, built of mudbricks and paved with potsherds, and with an associated ash layer on top; and stone Bathtub 68047. In addition, there were several fire pits in use in this room during its different subphases, including three over the course of Phase 9B1 (Meehl, Dothan, and Gitin 2006: 40–41). There were few small finds on the surfaces associated with these features; the only ones noted are a carnelian lotus seed pendant along with some charred olive seeds in Phase 9B2.

Now we will briefly turn to an evaluation of Dothan's arguments on the basis of the methodological suggestions. Nowhere does Dothan define the term *cultic*, leaving the interpretation of the contexts somewhat open-ended. Nevertheless, some of the specific analogies she uses (see below) as well as her reference to "cultic praxis" in connection with Renfrew's framework (Dothan 2003: 191), suggest that she is primarily viewing cult as specifically involved with worship. The basis of her interpretation of Room 16 and other contexts as cultic is the varying combinations of features (hearths, bathtubs, benches, columns, and platforms) and artifacts (figurines, zoomorphic vessels, bronze and iron objects, ivory objects, incised scapulae, and miniature vessels) found in them (see Dothan 2003: esp. 210). Thus Room 16 described above is interpreted as cultic explicitly on the basis of its hearth, bench, and bathtub (Meehl, Dothan, and Gitin 2006: 34–35, 41). In addition, the features of this room form part of a cumulative inductive argument based on comparison with other contexts with such features and material culture finds. The argument is not based on the inherent features of these objects, however; it is based on a set of analogies, largely explicit, with rooms containing similar features and artifacts in the contemporary Aegean and Cyprus. These analogies involve comparisons with a series of buildings, including the palaces at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos (each with central hearth in the megaron); Asine House G (the plan of large central hall flanked by

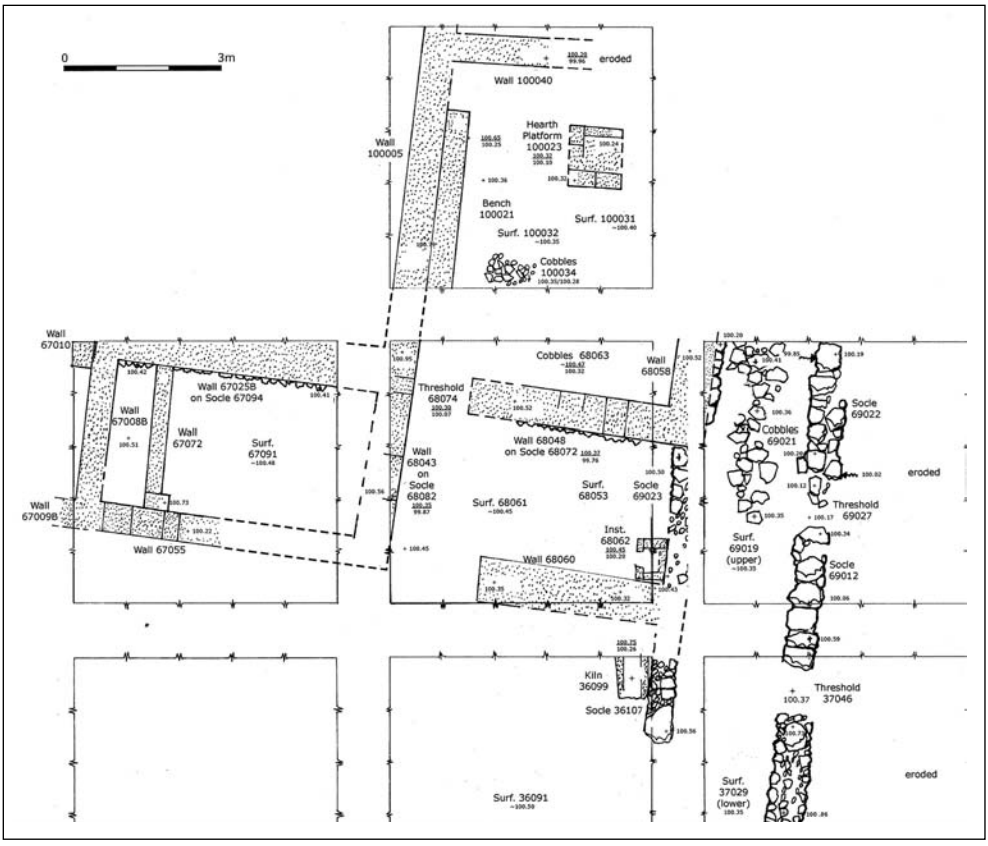


Figure 1. Plan of Tel Miqne Field INE East Slope, Phases 9B2 (left) and 9B1 (right), Room 16 and adjacent rooms (after Meehl et al. 2006: Plans Stratum VIIA 9B2 and 9B1).

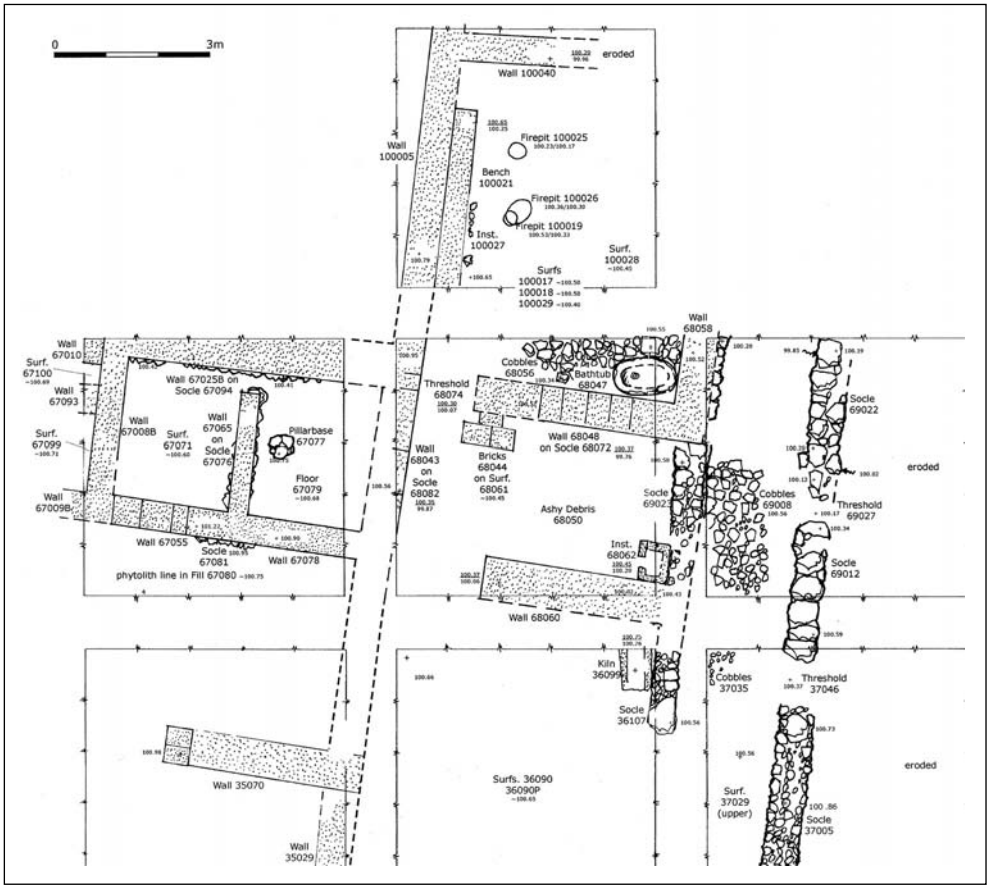


Figure 1. Plan of Tel Miqne Field INE East Slope, Phases 9B2 (left) and 9B1 (right), Room 16 and adjacent rooms (after Meehl et al. 2006: Plans Stratum VIIA 9B2 and 9B1).

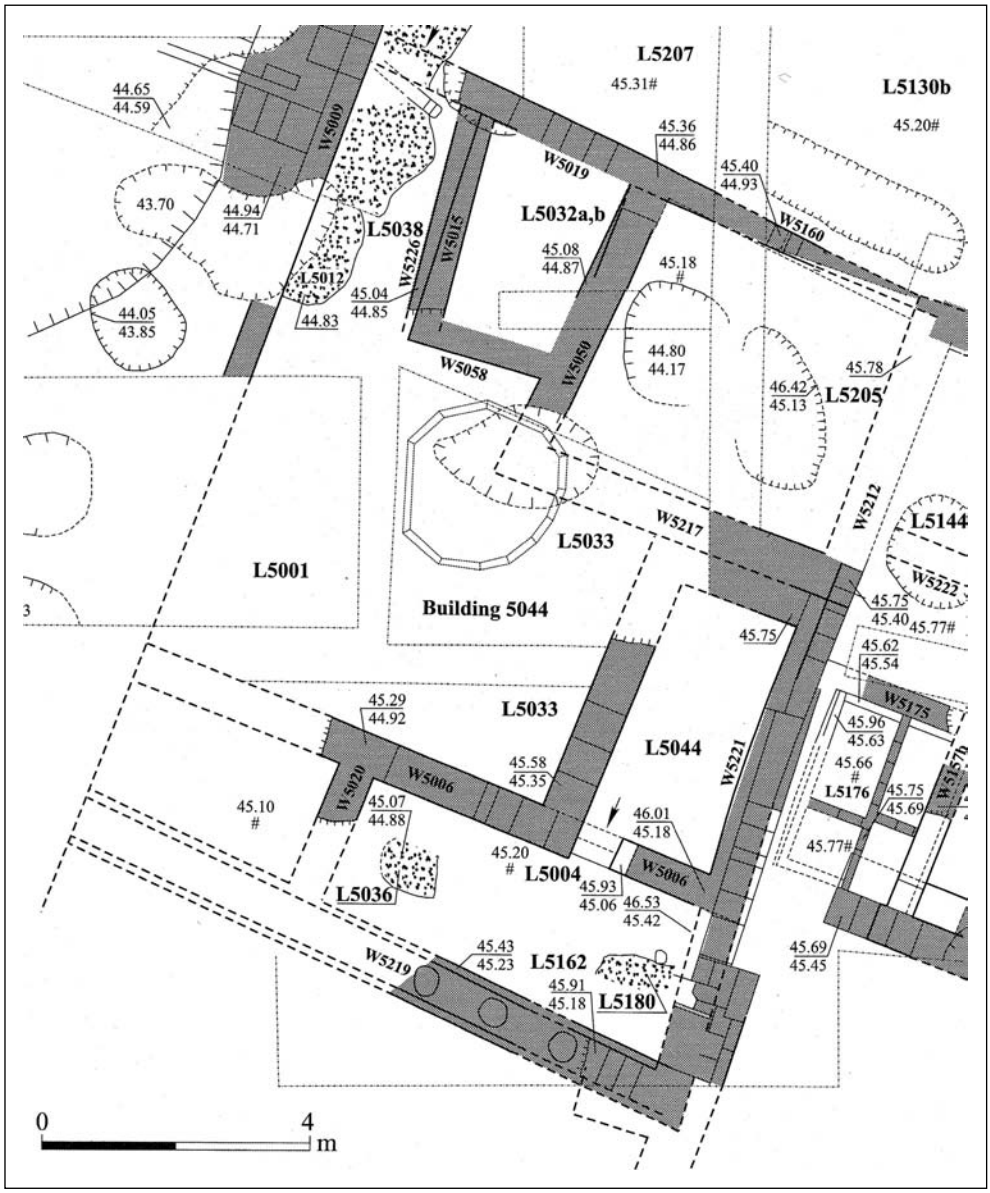


Figure 2. Plan of Ashdod Stratum XIB Building 5044 (after Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: Plan 2.8).

several rooms); the Panagia "special houses" at Mycenae; the "Citadel Cult Centers" at Mycenae and Tiryns; and "Bâtiment 18" and Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (Dothan 2003).

While the combination of these analogies strongly suggests connections between the Philistines and the Aegean and Cyprus, the proof of the cultic nature of the Philistine contexts is more questionable. Ultimately, the analogies proposed are imperfect, and they are selectively chosen. For instance, the central hearths of the Mycenaean palace megara are monumental and elaborately decorated (e.g., Darcque 2005: 174)—two characteristics unknown in Philistine hearths. At the same time, smaller, undecorated hearths are a common feature of other Mycenaean buildings, especially houses, which often have a megaron-like plan and the hearth centrally located in the main room (see, e.g., Shear 1968; Darcque 2005). (Note also that the cultic function of the palace megaron is far from clear, as discussed above.) While the "Citadel Cult Centers" at Mycenae (Moore and Taylour 1999) and Tiryns[10] share features such as hearths, platforms, and bathtubs with the Philistine contexts, the latter are lacking the key indicator of cultic activity of the Mycenaean structures: large, hollow terracotta figures, several of which—including multiple complete or largely complete examples—have been found at each site. Nothing like them is known from Ekron, and in fact the only possible parallel in Philistia is the large anthropomorphic vessel from Qasile (discussed above). Similarly, the Sanctuary of the Ingot God is distinguishable as a cultic context by the presumed bronze cult image, the large terracotta animal figures, and the hundreds of (votive?) figurines (Courtois 1971). In these cases, it is not simply specific types of artifacts that are missing from the Philistine contexts, such as Room 16 at Miqne, but indicators of cultic behavior: worship of a large, centrally located image; offering of large numbers of votive objects; etc.[11]

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[10] For the term "Citadel Cult Center," see Wright 1994: 61–63. The cultic area at Tiryns is not fully published; for preliminary reports see, e.g., Kilian 1978a, 1979, 1981. For summaries of these and other Mycenaean cult sites, see Wright 1994: 61–71; Shelmerdine 1997: 570–577.

[11] Note that I would emphasize less the individual objects than their location and arrangement within the spaces as indicators of cultic behavior (an approach shared with Renfrew's framework; see also Mazow 2005: esp. 296–298). As with many of the supposedly cultic artifacts from the southern Levant, described above, few if any of the objects or features isolated by Dothan had a uniquely cultic function, if they are provably cultic at all. For discussion of the function of hearths, see above (with references); for bathtubs, see Shear 1968: 452–453; Karageorghis 1998; Darcque 2005:

I would tentatively offer an alternative interpretation of Room 16. As mentioned above, the central hearth was a common feature of the main room of a Mycenaean house. Shear (1968) suggested that this arrangement was typical of Mycenaean houses, reconstructing a central hearth in several main rooms of houses where they were not preserved. While Darcque (2005: 174–175, Fig. 42) notes that the arrangement may not have been as ubiquitous as suggested by Shear, based on both lack of evidence and numerous examples of domestic hearths elsewhere in the house, he still observes that the hearth often occurs in the center of the main room. Room 16 was much larger than the adjacent rooms, just as the main room of the Mycenaean house was much larger than the others (Shear 1968). Benches and bathtubs are also common features of Mycenaean houses (Shear 1968; Darcque 2005). For Cyprus, Karageorghis observes that hearths and bathtubs were often found in a variety of contexts, including domestic ones; he suggests that built central hearths, often unusually large, were found at the center of large communal halls or wealthy residences (1998). I would suggest, then, that it is more likely that Room 16 is the main room of a house (the excavated portion of which would consist of Rooms 12–18), or else a communal hall.[12] This interpretation does not preclude secondary cultic activity within the room; such a suggestion, however, would be entirely speculative, as such cultic rituals have left no extant remains.

2. *Ashdod Room 5032 (Fig. 2)*

Room 5032 is one of at least five rooms (plus a courtyard) excavated in Building 5044, the large building south of the major east–west street in Area H, Stratum XI (see Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: Plan 2.8). The building continued in use through both phases of the stratum (XIb and XIa) with largely the same plan, but Room 5032 appears to have gone out of use at the end of Stratum XIb (Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005: 31). While the function of this building is not explicitly discussed in either

183–185. For the appearance of many of these features together in noncultic settings, especially domestic ones, see Shear 1968, 1987; Darcque 2005.

[12] At Ashkelon, many of the same features noted by Dothan—hearths, bathtubs, column bases, platforms—as well as artifacts such as figurines, bronzes, ivories, and iron objects, have been found in a series of Iron I rooms from Grid 38; these have been universally regarded as primarily domestic (and secondarily industrial) in character. For a recent presentation of the material, see Stager et al. 2008: 257–273.

of the excavation reports, other publications suggest that the excavators determined Area H in general to have been a residential district throughout the Iron I (Dothan and Dothan 1992: 152–153; Dothan 1982: 42), and this interpretation has been accepted by scholars writing on domestic cult (e.g., Yasur-Landau 2001; Schmitt 2008).

The main find in Building 5044, and the only one from Room 5032, which has been taken as an indicator of domestic cult, is the (nearly) complete "Ashdoda" figurine (Dothan 1971: Fig. 91.1). The find of this figurine is particularly significant given its state of preservation, as all of the other "Ashdoda" figurines—and most other Philistine figurines generally—found so far have been fragmentary. Thus, the figurine plays an important role in Schmitt's (2008: 167) and Yasur-Landau's (2001: 335) discussions of domestic cult; combining this data with the evidence of other figurines from Iron I Ashdod and Tell Qasile, they conclude that figurines, and particularly the "Ashdoda," were used in domestic cult rituals. It is therefore worth surveying the arguments both for and against this conclusion.

Elsewhere I have argued (Press 2007: 206–214; cf. Yasur-Landau 2001: 332–335) that it is likely that at least the primary referent of the "Ashdoda" is a divine figure. There is a close relationship between Mycenaean female figurines (of which the "Ashdoda" is a derivative) and the larger Mycenaean terracotta figures (as noted, e.g., by French 1981b: 173; Moore and Taylour 1999: 87), universally interpreted as cult images (e.g., Kilian 1981; French 1985: 215; Renfrew 1985: 415; Moore and Taylour 1999: 90–92). It is clear, therefore, that at least some of the Mycenaean figurines represented goddesses (or that Mycenaean figurines represented goddesses in at least some contexts). Meanwhile, the seated position of the "Ashdoda"—its essential identifying characteristic—is an indicator of authority (either divine or royal) throughout the Near East and Aegean (for a discussion of the prominence of enthroned figures in Mycenaean art, see Rehak 1995: esp. 97, 104–108; see also Yasur-Landau 2001: 333–334). Moreover, for the Mycenaean figurines there is contextual evidence concerning their use: some of these figurines clearly had a cultic or other ritual function. Thus, female figurines have been found in the "Citadel Cult Centers" and other sanctuaries, although much less frequently than other types of figurines (animal figurines, composite figurines), as both votive offerings and even as recipients of offerings (Mycenae [Moore and Taylour 1999: 50, 92–93]; Phylakopi [French 1985: 231, 276–277; Renfrew 1985: 417]; Tiryns [e.g., Kilian 1988b: 148]; Methana [Konsolaki

2002]); as apparent offerings of veneration to the dead, outside the temenos walls of monumental tombs (Tzonou-Herbst 2002); and as possible votive offerings at open air sanctuaries away from the major palatial centers (e.g., Agia Triada [Klenies] in the Argolid [Hägg 1981: 39; Kilian 1990: 185–190]). Kilian has also pointed to the clustering of figurines around doorways and hearths in houses at LHIIIB Tiryns (1988b: 148, Fig. 16), which could plausibly (but only speculatively) be linked to Wright's suggestions (1994: 56–60; see above) about cult at the Mycenaean household hearth.

At the same time, there are several problems with the conclusion that the "Ashdoda" functioned in domestic cult rituals. First, Mycenaean figurines (as noted above) have been found in a variety of contexts, and apparently had a variety of functions; not only were there special types (such as the mourning figurine; see above) with different functions, as well as different (nondivine) meanings, but the same type could have had multiple functions and *referents* based on context (see Press 2007: 197–201 for the case of the Tau figurines, in settlements vs. in tombs). Second, according to the excavation report no floor was found in Room 5032, which was heavily disturbed by pits; the "Ashdoda" figurine was found in a pile of rubble in the room (Dothan 1971: 161). Thus, we do not have the actual use context of the figurine. In fact, most "Ashdoda" figurines have been found not on floors but in pits and constructional fills (as noted by Yasur-Landau 2001: 335; Schmitt 2008: 166). Finally, and perhaps most fundamentally, given the fragmentary nature of the figurines and their problematic contexts, no cultic *assemblages* can be reconstructed. The exact nature of the relationship between the figurines and other artifacts or architectural features is unknown.[13] As a result, it is impossible for us to reconstruct any cultic *behaviors* in the use of the figurines. Even if we grant, as argued above, that the "Ashdoda" was likely a divine representation, i.e., an object with *religious* meaning, it may not have been necessarily *cultic* in function; it could have had other religious symbolic function (e.g., protection; a symbol/reminder of the deity).[14]

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[13] Compare Kilian's observation (1988b: 148, Fig. 16) on the distribution of figurines at Tiryns: if such clustering around hearths, for example, was observed at Philistine sites, we might suggest the function of figurines in some sort of cultic ritual at the hearth as a plausible reconstruction.

[14] In fact, Kilian (1988b: 148) suggests, on the basis of the figurine distribution at Tiryns, that Mycenaean figurines had an apotropaic function. The arguments put

At most, then, we can say that it is possible that the "Ashdoda" functioned in domestic cult, but that this conclusion is ultimately speculative. Nevertheless, there is more evidence for the cultic or at least religious function of the figurine and contexts such as Room 5032 than there is for Room 16 and its assemblage of architectural features. While most "Ashdoda" figurines have not been found complete or in primary contexts, their common distribution in domestic zones, and specifically in or around houses (as, for example, in Areas H and G at Ashdod), is significant (as remarked by both Schmitt and Yasur-Landau). We can reasonably conclude that they were often used in the house (or in the context of a household, in the space adjacent to the house). The role, for the "Ashdoda" at least (if not other figurines), appears to be one in domestic religious symbolism generally. Ultimately, then, the problem may be one of definition: how we define *cult*, whether in narrow or broad terms.

Conclusion

This study is an attempt at identifying a problem (namely, how to identify domestic cult), proposing steps toward a solution, and applying those proposals on two test cases. The methodological proposals focus on the need for definitions, specifically on defining the terms and defining the analogies that we use, and recommend a multilevel method of analogy, involving both general data to set the bounds of interpretation and culture-specific data to suggest specific cultic behaviors. These suggestions and recommendations are only provisional: they are meant not as a definitive approach, but as a first step in an ongoing process of developing effective methods. To this end, my ultimate goal here is to initiate a dialogue, one that will synthesize the different knowledge and experiences of a variety of archaeologists. It is only through this process of discussion and critique that we may, in the end, arrive at a more robust method.

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forward by Schmitt (2008) and Yasur-Landau (2001) can essentially be reduced to the assumption that figurines were exclusively cultic in function.

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INDEX

abandonment, 35, 52, 315, 307n3
Abu Hawam, Tell, 93
Abu et-Twein, Khirbet, 267
acculturation, 76, 145, 152
Achziv, 73
acropolis, 39, 51, 58, 202n12, 338
adze, 327
Aegean, 3, 6, 8, 183, 185–187, 189–194, 198–202, 204–206, 321–327, 329, 331–335, 337, 339–345, 363, 371, 381, 385, 387
Afis, Tell, 189, 199, 307n3, 308n4
Agia Triada, 197, 388
ʿAi, 101, 347, 353, 362
alley, alleyway, 40, 43, 82, 139, 299
altar, 294, 322, 325, 327, 332n9, 335, 340–341, 349–350, 353, 362, 377n7, 379
al-ʿUmayri, Tall, 353–354, 375
Anatolia, 3, 17, 18, 205, 314, 319
animal bones, 37, 42–43, 190, 246–247, 298, 322, 349, 362
Aphek, Tel, 6, 122, 136n1, 161, 164, 166–173, 175, 178–180
Arad, Tell, 101, 269, 349, 355, 361–362
Arad Letters, 268
Argolid, 186–187, 195, 201, 205, 208, 219, 338, 388
arrowhead, 89, 92–93, 245–247, 250, 252, 291, 354
Ashdod, 8, 119, 122, 124, 162, 183n1, 189–193, 195, 199, 202, 342, 375, 380, 384, 386–389
Asherah, 332, 351n8, 354, 355n15
Ashkelon, 2, 162, 189–190, 192–193, 195, 199, 272, 386n12
Assur, 308n4, 315, 363
Assyria, Assyrian Empire, 7, 269, 303–308, 310, 312–320, 363–364
astragali, 128, 343, 351
Avdon, 73
axe, 60, 327–328, 330, 334
Ayalon, 155, 161, 164, 173, 181

Babylonia, Babylonian Empire, 7, 75, 79, 82–83, 238, 319
baetyl, 332–334, 345
Bakali-Magula, 199
bamot. See also high place, 349, 351
Banat Barr, Khirbet, 264–265
basin, 29, 245–247, 250–251, 253, 322, 334
Batash, Tel, 5, 85, 93, 94n7, 95–978, 104, 113, 122, 124, 126, 258, 380
bathtub, 381, 385–386
bead, 91, 94, 245–247, 250–252, 353–355, 359
Beersheba, Tel, 7, 269, 275–281, 283, 285, 287–289, 291–301, 349, 362
Beit Arye, 363, 365
beit ʾav. See also family structure, extended family, 159, 178, 254, 262, 265, 352, 374n4
Beit Mirsim, Tel, 84, 95n8, 104, 122, 261, 359
bench, 146, 186, 321–323, 325–326, 328, 330, 332, 334, 341–343, 350, 353–354, 381, 386
Beqa Valley, 146, 148
Bethel, 349
Beth Safafa, 267
Beth-Shemesh, Tel, 95–96, 104, 119, 261
Bet Netofah Valley, 353
Biret-Tell, Kurnet, 264
bracelet, 293
burial, 60, 63, 67, 72, 79, 119, 144, 187, 201–202, 220, 293, 364

Canaan, 5, 51–53, 75–77, 84, 99, 107, 111, 115, 124, 128–129, 144, 190, 277, 287
Canaanite pottery, 88–89, 92, 100n12, 188
casemate, casemate wall, 278, 280, 282, 284, 286, 289
cattle, 47, 60, 149–150, 153, 190, 213n8, 308n5, 313n6
ceiling, 139, 242, 288
Central Highlands, 144
Chamaizi, 326–328
Chania, 189
charcoal, 33, 34, 150
Chios, 189
chisel, 327

Cilicia, 205
city square, 278, 291, 299
clan, 60, 90, 201, 270–271, 348n2, 350n5, 374n4
Coastal Plain, 155, 157, 161–162, 166, 173, 272
column, column base, 90, 143, 209, 220, 224, 227, 342n15, 381, 386n12
compost, 134, 137
consumption, 2, 15, 27, 32, 42–43, 45, 51–53, 56, 94, 101, 145–146, 149–151, 171, 188, 190, 208, 243, 248–250, 253, 256, 276, 290, 297, 300–301, 309–310, 316, 354
cooking, 6, 16, 19n2, 33–34, 42, 57, 87, 92, 126, 129, 143, 145, 153, 188–190, 221, 229, 234, 243, 249, 253, 277, 290, 292, 294, 314, 357, 378
court, courtyard, 11, 16, 32, 34, 42, 57, 72, 92, 94, 112–113, 119, 122, 124, 126, 130–131, 139, 150, 160, 167–179, 183, 192, 208–209, 211–214, 220–221, 226–227, 234, 240, 249–254, 271, 280, 282, 286, 288, 290, 300, 319, 321–323, 326–330, 332–337, 339–341, 345, 351, 354, 357–358, 375, 386
craft specialization, 152, 300
Crete, 153, 187, 192, 195, 199, 205, 208, 220n13, 226–227, 323–324, 326–327, 329, 331–334, 337, 370
cult corner, 321–324, 326, 331–338, 340, 342–344, 366, 375, 377n7, 380
cymbals, 91, 94
Cypriot pottery, 89, 92–93
Cyprus, 8, 119n3, 183, 185–187, 189, 192–194, 198–206, 226, 314, 322–324, 327n5, 339, 340, 342–345, 370, 379, 381, 385–386

Dan, Tel, 5, 69, 83, 133–135, 137–149, 151–154, 323, 334
Deir Alla, Tell, 143
Deir Daqla, Khirbet, 266
Deir el-Mir, 263, 265
deity, 321, 325, 334, 338, 367, 388
diet, 47, 187, 188, 204, 310, 314, 316
Dodecanese, 187, 205
domestic cult, 7–8, 94, 188, 194, 198, 331, 361, 365, 373–376, 379–380, 387–389
doorway, 137, 139, 143, 152, 174, 227, 282, 335, 388
Dor, Tel, 4, 27n1, 28–31, 49
dyeing, 92

earring, 246–247, 250–251, 293
ecofact, 3, 28, 145, 238, 242, 310
egalitarian, egalitarianism, 172, 179, 358
Egypt, 17–18, 24, 52, 59–61, 84, 99, 103–104, 107, 128–130, 162, 179, 277, 314, 364
elders, 8, 82–84, 99, 172, 265, 347, 350, 352–353, 355–356, 359–360
el-Hammah, Tell, 351
elite, 6, 39, 51–52, 58, 93, 100n12, 103n17, 111, 129–130, 154, 171, 177–179, 195, 204, 207–208, 211n7, 213, 214n8, 215, 219–220, 224–228, 237, 275, 295, 299, 305, 310, 313, 324, 327, 373
elite houses, 103n17, 111, 130
el-Wawiyat, Tell, 353
engendering activities, 158, 291
Enkomi, 119n3, 187, 192–194, 198, 203–204, 226, 385
en-Naṣbeh, Tell, 237–254
ethnoarchaeology, 12, 19, 22, 239, 252
ethnohistory, 19, 22, 239
extended family household, 22

family cult, 356
family structure, 2, 256–257, 262, 300, 352
  extended family. *See also beit ʾav*, 7, 22, 102, 129, 143, 154, 159, 177, 237, 254, 257, 262–263, 265, 273, 276, 300, 350, 352–353, 355, 357
  nuclear family, 90, 102, 129, 144, 159, 249, 254, 276, 315, 352, 357
fauna, faunal remains, 34, 37–38, 42, 45–47, 52–54, 147, 150, 187, 189–190, 308n5, 314
favissa, favissae, 332, 379–380
feast, 6, 103n17, 208, 221, 224, 226, 228, 236
fenestrated stand, 246, 251, 331, 354, 375
figurine, 8, 61, 94, 187–188, 190–198, 204, 206, 247, 293–294, 318, 322, 325–327, 331, 338, 354–355, 362–365, 375, 380–381, 385, 386n12, 387–389
  animal, 197, 246–247, 252
  Ashdoda, 8, 190, 193, 387–389
  bovine, 193, 197
  female, 293, 354
  horse-and-rider, 354
  Minoan, 325
  Mycenaean, 192, 365, 387–388
  Philistine, 385

pillar figurine, 245, 247, 251–252, 359, 375
plaque, 351, 353
Psi, 190, 192, 193
Psi-related, 190, 192
zoomorphic, 183, 195–198, 205, 293, 327, 350, 354
fish, 44, 46–47, 49, 51, 149, 269, 363
floor, 4, 17, 28–33, 35, 42–44, 47–48, 67, 88, 90, 91, 101, 111, 113, 119, 124, 130, 139, 146, 160, 168–169, 216, 224, 229n15, 242, 263, 280, 287–288, 325–326, 328, 330, 334, 339, 340, 353, 358, 388
food preparation, 32, 87, 91–92, 94, 100, 112, 126, 129, 145–146, 152, 171, 236, 277, 288, 290, 292, 310, 322, 328, 334, 347
fortification, 5, 9, 39, 56–57, 63, 67–68, 73, 84, 141, 275, 338, 344
four-room house, 2–3, 7, 57, 124, 130, 167, 176, 186, 240n5, 257, 261, 263, 278, 280, 282, 284–290, 292, 294, 347, 352, 355, 357–359
funnel, 87–90, 92, 245–246

gate, 7, 62–63, 67, 69, 78, 83, 177, 262, 268, 278, 291, 299, 316, 318, 322, 338
Gath, Tell es-Ṣafi/, 5–6, 29, 107–110, 119, 122, 125, 128, 131, 189, 199–200, 202, 342–343
gazelle, 149
Gazi, 323, 324n4
gender, 1, 2, 5, 20–22, 25, 27, 57, 85, 97, 100–101, 131n9, 152, 221, 293, 314, 348
gendered space, 239
Gerisa, Tel, 6, 164, 166–167, 173, 175, 178–180
Gezer, Tell, 63, 84, 119, 122, 147
Gibeon, 267–268, 273
Gilat, 370
Gla, 338
goat, 49, 149, 190, 220n13, 308n5
Gournia, 324n4, 328, 332–334, 344–345
governor's residences, governor's palaces, 278, 296, 299
grain, 90, 134, 136, 144, 150, 153, 251, 266, 268, 292n6, 301, 314, 333, 335, 357
grain pit, 134, 136–137
grain silo, 175
grain storage, 143, 314

habitus, 7, 133, 151, 152, 158
Halif, Tell, 95, 186, 239, 347, 353–355, 374
Hamad, Khirbet, 266
Harassim, Tel, 95, 104, 119, 122
Hazor, Tel, 4, 37–43, 45–47, 49–54, 69, 75–78, 80–81, 83–84, 109, 260–262, 267, 268, 273, 359
hearth, 113, 189, 209, 215, 220, 221, 228, 230n16, 234, 342n15, 378, 381, 385, 386, 388
hearth-*wanax* ideology, 195, 198, 201, 378
Hellenistic Period, 13, 238
heterarchy, 358
hides, 314
high place. *See also bamot*, 326, 331, 337
Horvat Avot, 139
household compound, 237, 239–241
household economy, 7, 255–256
household shrine, 8, 253, 352–353, 355, 360
House of the Father, 22, 24

incense, 243, 294, 322, 378
incense altar, burner, stand, 353, 332n9, 362–363
industrial area, 261n2, 263–266, 340, 381
insulae, 58, 137, 151
ʿIra, Tel, 262, 268
Iran, 13, 242, 277, 357n22
Israelite pottery, 141, 143, 145, 180
ivory, ivories, 187, 219, 269, 334, 381, 386n12
ʿIzbet Ṣartah, 6, 163, 165–175, 177–180

Jawa, Tall, 375
Jemein, Khirbet, 263–265
Jerusalem, 161, 237, 262, 267–269, 272, 342, 349, 351, 362, 369
Jerusalem Temple, 347–349, 354, 356
Jezirah, 306–307, 319
Jordan, 277, 307, 353n13
Jordan Valley, 351
Judean Highlands, 267, 272

Kabri, Tel, 61–62, 70–75, 83
Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios,* 339–340, 344
Kato Zakro, 334
Kazel, Tell, 189, 308n4
Keisan, Tell, 136
kernos, 141, 351
Kfar Menahem, 200n10

Khorsabad, 363
kiln, 72, 193, 199, 200n10, 289
kitchen, 243, 249–251, 253–254, 290, 292, 376, 377n7, 378
Kition, 119n3, 199, 203
Kla, Khirbet, 263, 265
Knossos, 213n8, 224, 334, 341
kylix, kylikes, 187, 213n8, 221, 224, 226–227
Kynos, 199

Lachish, Tell, 119, 128, 262, 268–269, 278, 331, 349, 359, 361–362, 377n7
Lachish Fosse Temple, 128, 361–362
lamp-and-bowl deposit, 115, 130
larnakes, 364
Lebanon, 145–146, 295, 307
Lefkandi, 189, 192–193, 197, 199, 201
libations, 243, 340, 343, 378
libation stone, 334, 339, 344,
libation table, 328, 334
libation vessel, 322, 327n5, 334,
lineage, 7, 55, 67, 201, 265–266, 268–273
loom weight, 7, 92n6, 198–199, 285–286, 290–293, 319, 327, 343

Maa-Palaeokastro, 191–192, 194, 198–199, 203–204, 226
Mallia, 330, 334–335, 344
Malta, Khirbet, 264
mansion, 58, 341
Masos, Tel, 353, 355
massebah/masseboth. See also standing stone, 141, 331–332, 334, 350, 353–354, 375n5
meat, 45, 52–53, 149–150, 314, 328n6
megaron, megara, 186, 209, 211, 213, 215, 220, 342, 378, 381, 385
Megiddo, Tel, 4–5, 27n1, 32, 34–35, 63–66, 68, 83–84, 93, 112, 122, 124–125, 322, 337, 343, 349, 362, 375, 377n7
metal, 67, 127, 130, 136, 141, 150, 177, 187, 211, 221, 229, 250, 297, 308n5, 313–314, 351, 358
metallurgical activities, metallurgy, metalworking, 128, 136, 141, 143, 145–147, 152, 341, 343–344, 354
Methana, 387
Mesopotamia, 17–18, 75, 79, 82–84
Mezad Hashavyahu, 267
microartifact, 13, 16, 29, 319
micromorphology, 29–30, 35
Midea, 220, 338
Miletos, 226
military, 17, 203, 300, 305, 307, 313, 354–355
Minoan pottery, 227–229, 330
Miqne-Ekron, Tel, 2, 8, 119, 125, 162, 183n1, 189–197, 199–200, 202–203, 267, 272–273, 308, 379, 385
mishpahah, 265, 352
model furniture, 354
model shrine, 350, 353–355, 362
Mor, Tel, 122
Moza, 268
Mycenae, 195, 208–209, 214, 216, 227, 338, 381, 385, 387
Mycenaean pottery, 208, 216, 219n12, 221, 232, 234, 334
Myrtos, 153, 325–326
Myrtos-Fournou Korifi, 324
Myrtou-*Pighades*, 119n3, 340, 343

needle, 245, 250–251, 253
Neo-Assyrian Empire, 303, 305, 319
Nimrud, 363
Nineveh, 308n4, 363
Nippur, 75
nuclear-family household, 315

olives, 150, 251, 272, 381
olive oil, 144, 150, 249, 253, 261n2, 263–265, 272
olive press, 245, 251, 253, 257–258, 260–264, 267
oven. *See also tabun*, 7, 19n2, 72, 143, 145, 150, 153, 186, 189, 243, 282, 285, 286n1, 287–288, 290–292, 319, 378

palace, 5, 56–57, 70–72, 75, 83, 107, 109, 121, 201, 208–209, 211–216, 219, 224, 236, 275, 306, 324–325, 327–337, 344, 363–364, 378, 381, 385
patrician house, 5, 93–95, 98, 111, 119, 122, 124, 131
patrilineal marriage pattern, 22, 23n5, 143
pendant, 197, 246–247, 250–251, 254, 354–355, 359, 381
Phaistos, 328–329, 334–337, 344–345
Philistia, 2, 8, 183, 185, 187–190, 192–195, 198–204, 267, 272, 342, 344, 353n13, 361, 379, 385
Philistine pottery, 89, 187–189, 193, 206, 243n8
Philistines, 1–2, 155, 162, 180, 189–190, 192, 202, 205, 342, 385

Phoenicia, 314, 379
Phoenician pottery, 143, 145–146, 148, 252
Phylakopi, 192–193, 362n2, 369, 371, 374, 387
phytolith, 25, 30–31, 33
phytolith analysis, 28–29
piazza, 168–170, 172, 299
pig, 2, 46, 150, 153, 189–190, 220n13
pillar, pillar base, 87, 91, 113, 124, 129, 174, 240, 265, 280, 285–286, 289–291, 335, 339
pillar house, pillared house, 104, 119, 167, 170, 173–175, 177–180, 237–239, 254
platform, 121, 230n16, 322n1, 336–337, 379, 381
preindustrial city, 299
Priene, 336
Pylos, 208–209, 211–214, 224, 236, 381

Qasile, Tell, 6, 141, 162, 164, 167, 172–175, 177–180, 190, 192, 327n5, 331n8, 361, 379, 385, 387

Ramat Raḥel, 267
rampart, 56, 63, 67–68, 70–75, 79
recycling, 97–98, 145, 151, 252
reels, 198
Rehov, Tel, 49, 331–332
religion
  family, 348–350, 358, 360, 374n4
  official, 348–349
residential compound, 8, 245, 352, 355, 357, 360
rhyton, rhyta, 229, 322–323, 331, 334, 341, 343–344
ritual, 27, 32–33, 93, 96, 153, 195, 208n3, 224, 229n15, 276, 293–294, 321–323, 325–327, 331–332, 334–335, 338, 341–344, 347–348, 353–355, 359–360, 366–368, 370, 374–379, 387, 388n13
Roman Period, 238
roof, 90, 221, 242n6, 288, 290, 342n15
rural sector, 177, 257, 262, 269, 272–273

Sam'al, 303, 310, 311–314, 316, 318
Samaria, 263–264, 266, 271
Samarian Hills, 161
Samaria ostraca, 268, 270–271
sanctuary, sanctuaries, 141, 323, 326–328, 330n7, 333–334, 347, 349, 350n5, 351, 355–256, 362n2, 365, 369, 371, 374, 385, 387–388
scapulae, 322, 342–344, 381
seal, seal impression, 128, 130, 229n15, 291, 331, 336, 338, 340–341
  cylinder, 91, 94
  lmlk, 268
  scarab, 67, 89, 91, 128, 130, 353
Sea Peoples, 183, 185, 205, 229
Sera, Tel, 122
sewing, sewing implements, 250–251, 357
Shechem Migdal Temple, 363
sheep, 46, 49, 149–150, 171, 190, 287, 308n5, 313n6
sheep shearing, 286
Sheikh Issa, 264–265
shell, 245–246, 250–251, 328, 330n7
Shephelah, 85, 95, 98, 104, 173, 272, 342
Shiloh, 2, 12, 136, 139, 157, 173, 278, 286–287, 321, 344, 349
shrine, 8, 252–254, 321, 325–326, 328n6, 330–332, 334, 336n11, 338, 350, 352–355, 360, 362
sickle, 141, 327
sickle blade, 126, 141, 147, 246
Sinda, 194
Sippar, 55
slingstone, 250, 252
soil chemistry analysis, 319
spatial organization, 16, 19, 277, 299
spatula, 247–248, 250–251, 253, 293n7
spearhead, 93, 327, 353
specialization, 112, 143–144, 146, 150–152, 178, 300, 308–309, 313–314, 318, 354, 357–358, 374
spindle whorls, 89, 245–246, 250, 290, 293, 319
spinning, 92, 94, 288, 290, 292, 301, 357
spools, 187–188, 198–201, 204–206
stable, 253
staircase, 90, 290, 326, 339
standing stone. *See also massebah/masseboth*, 332
stelae, 375
stone tools, 327–328, 344, 351
  chipped stone, 147
  grinding slab, 139
  grindstone, 287n2, 330, 334
  ground stone tools, 250
  hammerstone, 246
  lithics, 42, 250

mortar, 146, 247, 251n12
pestle, 146, 246–247, 251, 230n7
storehouse, 177, 262, 265–266
street, 63, 91, 99, 103, 162, 170, 175, 177, 278, 280, 282, 284, 289, 294, 299–300, 328, 386
structuration, 133, 153
surplus, 96, 98, 103n17, 263n4, 272
syntax of building plan, 111, 121, 124, 160, 168–170, 173–174, 176
Syria, 24, 75, 79, 145, 183, 199, 201, 277, 292n6, 306–307

tabun. *See also* oven, 29, 72, 113, 126, 143, 145, 153
Taʿanach Cultic Structure, 363, 377n7
Taʿanach, Tell, 363
temple, 55–56, 58, 75, 77–79, 83–84, 107, 170, 177, 327n5, 331n8, 361, 363, 377n7, 379–380
textiles, 57, 314
textile production, 343
three-room house, three-room building, 95, 239–240, 243, 249–250, 252–254, 257, 278, 282, 289–291, 294
Tibna, Khirbet, 264
timber, 151, 313–314
Tiryns, 6, 189–190, 193, 195, 197, 199, 201, 205, 207–211, 214–220, 222–224, 226–236, 338, 381, 385, 387–388
tomb, 13, 57, 59, 72, 219n12, 220, 350n5
trade, 45, 47, 69, 161, 175, 181, 205–206, 267–269, 272, 305, 314, 316–318, 334
triton shells, 327, 328, 330n7
trough, 253
Troy, 338
Turkey, 125n5, 277, 306–307, 310

Ugarit, 22–24, 57, 79, 93, 355n15
Ur, 55–56, 82
urban sector, 257, 273
ushabti, 364

wanax, 208, 215, 219, 224, 227
wealth, 5, 45, 93–102, 104–105, 133, 160, 172, 175, 179, 275, 294–299, 301, 304, 306, 365, 380, 386
weapon, 60, 250–252, 293, 351
weaving, 57, 92n6, 112, 199–200, 250–251, 286, 288, 290, 293–292, 293n7, 294, 301, 342–343, 354, 357
wine, 93, 144, 226, 265–268, 272, 342, 343
winepress, 261
weight, 29, 89, 94, 268
wool, 45, 149–150, 286, 288

Yahweh, 354
Yarkon River, 6, 155, 161–162, 164
Yavneh, Tel, 379

Ziyaret Tepe, 308
zoomorphic vessel, 245, 251, 351, 354